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January, 1900.

PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT.

No. 10.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

25 CENTS A YEAR.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY



A STAR OF HOPE.



EDITED BY FREDERIC HEATH

RED BOOK.

"A TRIP TO GIRARD."

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EUGENE V. DEBS



VICTOR L. BERGER



JESSE COX,
CHAIRMAN



SEYMOUR STEDMAN



FREDERIC HEATH

**National Executive Committee of the
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.**

Social Service Committee
from the Standard Publishing Co.
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JANUARY, 1900.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Introduction:

The history of Socialism in America, using the word socialism to embrace the various steps by which enemies of the present social system have sought to work toward a final deliverance, seems to divide itself into seven quite clearly defined periods, as follows :

1. The earliest period, embraced between the years 1776 and 1824, when the communistic ventures of the Shakers, Rappites and Zoarites had the entire field to themselves.
2. From 1825 to 1828, when Robert Owen made America the theater of his attempts to put his Utopian dreams into practice, by communistic experiments.
3. From 1841 to 1847, the period when Fourierism swept over the country as a craze, leading to the establishment of a great number of communities and phalanxes, all of them doomed to fail within a brief time.
4. The period from 1847 to 1856, when Wilhelm Weitling was the moving spirit in trying to organize systematic socialistic agitation. It was during this period, also, that Cabet and his Icaria flourished and waned.
5. From 1857 to 1888. This period of time seems to have

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been devoted to the effort of immigrant Socialists, particularly from Germany, to spread the tenets of Socialism, more particularly of Social Democracy, but unfortunately, without getting the "Yankee" ear. It was during this period that the Socialist turner societies flourished.

6. From 1888 to 1897. This period may be designated as that in which the gestation of Socialism, as native to American soil, was going on. It began with the appearance of Gronlund's book, "The Co-operative Commonwealth," which was soon followed by Bellamy's "Looking Backward."

7. From 1897 down to the present time. The period in which American Socialism having "chipped the shell" first asserts itself as a force in American politics through the formation of the Social Democracy of America, the Socialist Labor party, by its transplanted methods, having failed to reach the American ear. Two factors which helped prepare the field for the new party, were the agitation work of Eugene V. Debs and the proselyting powers of Editor J. A. Wayland, successively of the "Coming Nation" and "The Appeal to Reason."

CHAPTER I.—THE FIRST PERIOD.

In 1776, the year memorable in history as well as to the American people as the beginning of a nation pledged to political democracy, the first attempt at communism in the new world had its place. This was the establishment of the Shaker community at Watervliet, New York. The Shakers first landed on our shores in August, 1774, and between that date and 1792, two settlements had been formed in New York state, four in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, two in New Hampshire, and two in Maine. Between 1805 and 1807 two were formed in Ohio, one in Indiana and two in Kentucky. Between 1822 and 1827 two were formed in Ohio and another in New York state. The Indiana society and one of those in Massachusetts disbanded a few years

later. The others were quite successful, having at one time a total population of between 5,000 and 6,000. In 1778 the membership had dwindled to half that number.

Little need be said of the Shakers in a history such as this. Whatever of success they attained to, sprang from their religious discipline, rather than from the mere fact of communistic association. And the history of a multitude of varying experiments in pure communism has shown the impossibility of successful communistic achievement. The Shakers began as a sect in 1747, as an off-shoot of the English Quakers. Their coming to America was in obedience to an alleged vision seen by Mother Ann, their high priestess, who came hither as "spiritually directed." The Shaker communities have taken the form of home farms, of several acres in extent, and a good deal of their activity has centered round the raising of garden seeds, medicinal herbs, etc., which they have sold to the outside world with no little profit. Hinds, in his work on "American Communities," estimated that the wealth of the Shakers (1878) must be not much less than twelve millions.

In 1804, thirty years after Mother Ann and the Shakers came to this country, a religious sect known as Separatists set out from Germany and also found a haven on the shores of the western continent. Their leader was George Rapp, or "Father Rapp," as he was generally called, and they were variously known as Rappites, Harmonists and Separatists. They were schismatics of the Lutheran church. Their first settlement was on the banks of the Conequenessing in Butler county, Pennsylvania, but afterward, in 1814, they removed to Indiana, where they secured 30,000 acres of land on the lower Wabash river in Posey county, not far from the town of Mt. Vernon. Their village, which was entirely communistic, comprised some 160 houses, half of which were of brick, and was called New Harmony. It is chiefly of interest to the student of Socialism because it was later the scene of Robert Owen's American experiment in communism. The

Rappites were well disciplined and achieved a remarkable success in a material way, increasing their per capita average of wealth from \$25 to \$2,000 for each man, woman and child, in twenty-one years. In the matter of culture and intellectual advancement they made practically no progress. The Rappites were mostly celibates, ate five meals a day and were very religious. They lived at New Harmony ten years and then went back to their old home, called Economy, in Pennsylvania. It is claimed that this removal was made by Rapp because, once the rigors of pioneering began to wear off the members of the community became less amenable to discipline because of their easy living. On taking up life anew in Pennsylvania the colonists added materially to their wealth, becoming in time largely interested in coal mines and oil wells, as well as controlling, at Beaver Falls, the largest cutlery establishment of its time in the United States. They are said to have received \$150,000 for their New Harmony property from Robert Owen.

While the Rappites were still in Indiana, a third communistic sect made its appearance on American soil—the Separatists of Zoar, also schismatics, from old Würtemberg, who settled in Tuscararas county, Ohio, in December, 1817. It was not at first intended to form a communistic settlement, but the Zoarites were forced into such an association by stress of circumstances, a fact commented on as very curious by the press of the country when the Zoarites finally gave up the communistic relation just eighty-one years later, in 1898. For many years they were prosperous. A writer who visited them in 1878 credits them with 7,200 acres of land paid for, two large flouring mills, a saw mill, machine shops, foundry, woolen factory, store, tavern, etc., and a farm in Iowa. Their holdings at that time were valued at \$731,000. In 1878 the number of members was 250, whereas in 1832, when many recruits came from Germany, it was nearly 500. Zoar always looked like a little German town and was referred to as “the little city hidden in an apple orchard.”

In later years America saw many other religious communities, none of which had any particular bearing on the socialist movement. Perhaps an exception should be made in the case of the Oneida community, which was begun in 1848 by John Humphrey Noyes, in whom was blended the socialistic and religious nature. At one time Noyes published a paper, "The American Socialist," from the community press, which was devoted to news of communities and the newer phases of Socialism. Besides the religious colonies the United States is even to-day the scene of numerous community experiments, some of which are not even heard of by the people at large. All meet the common fate, however, and give the capitalist press the chance to make the false claim that Socialism has been tried and found impracticable. Since 1870 fully 100 of these fore-doomed social experiments have been tried.

CHAPTER II.—THE OWENITE MOVEMENT.

The Owenite movement in America began in 1824 and ended in 1826. It was inspired by the communistic writings and experiments of Robert Owen, the wealthy English manufacturer and social scientist. He himself was the prime mover in it, having hit upon America as the theater of his most ambitious undertakings. In 1826 there were eleven Owenistic communities in America, but not all of them were strictly Owenite, however. The experiments of the Owen epoch were:

- Blue Spring Community, Indiana.
- Co-operative Society, Pennsylvania.
- Coxsackie Community, New York.
- Forrestville Community, Indiana.
- Franklin Community, New York.
- Haverstraw Community, New York.
- Kendal Community, Ohio.
- Macluria, Indiana.



THREE NOTABLE EARLY DAY COMMUNISTS.

New Harmony, Indiana.

Nashoba, Tennessee.

Yellow Springs Community, Ohio.

Most of these were obscure affairs, and only the ones at New Harmony and Nashoba need be described. Macluria was merely an off-shoot of New Harmony, devised by Owen to heal internal dissention.

Robert Owen, who is often referred to as "the father of modern communism," was a very successful cotton mill owner of England, who among other things for the benefit of his fellow men, forced England to enact the famous Factory Laws. This was in 1819. He had already come to be known as a communist and had attracted attention by the reforms he instituted in his mills at New Lanark. He was the originator of the Labor Leagues from which sprang the Chartist movement. Essentially a man of large undertakings, he was not discouraged by three failures in communistic experiment in England, but began to look to America, where with vast tracts to be had for a song, and freedom from the distractions of custom and social habit, a larger experiment could be undertaken with more assurance of success. A friend from America, who lived neighbor to the Rappite community, informed him that that domain was for sale. Owen had learned of the great success of the Rappites and so his mind was quickly made up. Here was a village ready to his hand and with inexhaustible fields about it. He came to America in December, 1824, and by April had finished negotiations. He paid Rapp \$150,000 and Rapp and his followers moved back to Pennsylvania, as stated in the previous chapter. Owen then issued an address "to the industrious and well disposed" of all nations and creeds, and by summer fully 800 people had joined him. He had paid a high price for the domain, as it was off the main roads of travel, still it was wonderfully fertile and comprised no less than 30,000 acres. There was water power for a flour mill, and an island of 3,000 acres, in the Wabash river, for pasture land. A quarry of

free stone, and vineyards on the surrounding hill sides, were other valuable features. In the village were several large buildings, a large brick hall, a church, a steam mill, woolen factory, and numerous small dwellings, each with its garden spot. Near by were extensive apple and peach orchards and the village itself was almost hidden in trees. At first Owen organized his colony on an experimental basis, to see if the members would be able to carry out the principles of communism when they were finally adopted. A committee of management was chosen, of which Owen named four out of the seven. He proposed a constitution, which was adopted May 1, 1825, and a month later, the community's affairs seeming to be satisfactory and safe, Owen returned to England.

Great enthusiasm prevailed. There was a school of 130 children who were boarded, educated and clothed at public expense. The other inhabitants received a weekly credit on the public store according to the amount and value of their services, this being determined by a committee. Three meetings were held each week by the members, one for public discussion of the society's affairs, one for vocal or instrumental concerts, and the third taking the form of a public ball, the community having an excellent orchestra under charge of Josiah Warren, afterwards to gain fame as a pronounced Individualist. The membership of the community was made up of varying elements, but while the novelty lasted they got on very well.

Mr. Owen, who had delivered a number of lectures on communism and communistic experiments, brought back with him in January of the following year, some distinguished converts, besides his son, the afterwards noted Robert Dale Owen. In this party were Thomas Say, one of the founders of the Academy of Natural Sciences, at Philadelphia; Charles Lesueur, a French naturalist; Gerard Troost, a Hollander distinguished as a chemist and a geologist, and who was afterwards professor of chemistry in the Nashville University; and William Maclure, president of the Philadel-

phia Academy of Sciences. These people entered into the colony life with that zest that is common to such experiences, delighting in the charm of good fellowship and the lack of conventionalities there. Robert Dale Owen taught the school and edited a paper called "The New Harmony Gazette."

But as time went on problems and embarrassments multiplied. Under a new constitution members "were to be furnished as near as can be with similar food, clothing and education," and as soon as possible were to live in similar houses. Actual communism was begun in January, 1826. In February Mr. Owen was requested to aid in conducting the concerns of the community for one year, and the result was a temporary betterment of the situation. Two months later, however, Macluria had to be organized, and in May a second off-shoot called Feiba Peven.

By this time misgiving as to the permanency of the undertaking began to be felt. A system of trading began to spring up between the members. At the end of the month the community was divided into four societies in an effort to restore harmony. Matters went on till Fall, when members began to leave the colony, and the "New Harmony Gazette" editorially acknowledged the community a failure.

Then came the break up, the inhabitants having the choice of either supporting themselves or leaving the place. Mr. Owen offered land from the domain to several groups who wished to make further experiments, but they all soon after failed. Robert Dale Owen is authority for the statement that the New Harmony experiment cost his father little less than \$200,000, which was the larger part of his fortune.

After the failure Owen went back to England, but returned in November, 1828, with a scheme to get a vast territory in Texas from the Mexican government for a communistic experiment of great magnitude. A change in the party in power ended the scheme summarily. He never fully gave up hope of carrying out his Texas project, however. In 1844 he returned to America and published in the "New York

Herald" an address to the people of the United States, proclaiming it as his mission to peacefully effect the greatest revolution ever yet made in human society. It met with little attention, Fourierism then having the ear of the people. He gave lectures about the country, visited several phalanxes and in May, 1845, issued a call for a world's convention.

This was held in New York in November with a slim attendance. Six times after he was fifty years old and twice after he was seventy, he crossed the ocean in the interests of communism.

Nashoba was an undertaking by Frances Wright, a cultured English woman, who was trying to demonstrate the ability of the negro to maintain himself in a state of freedom. The settlement was near Memphis, but was never more than a small cluster of huts and a plantation, and was a signal failure. Miss Wright was one of Owen's hardest supporters. She published the "Nashoba Gazette," which was finally moved to New Harmony and merged with the paper there, both editors remaining in charge. After the break-up the two editors moved the paper to New York and changed the name to "The Free Inquirer."

After the breakup at New Harmony the village continued to be a sort of gathering place for Socialists, Communists and radicals of various sorts.

An interesting development of the agitations of Owen was a political movement begun by George H. Evans and his brother Frederick W. Evans, who were among Owen's converts. At first intangible it finally culminated in a Workingman's party in New York state, which demanded among other thing the abolition of chattel slavery and the "abolition of wage slavery." A convention was held in Syracuse in 1830 and Ezekiel Williams nominated for governor. He received nearly 3,000 votes. By means of a fusion the party got one man into the state legislature. Frances Wright and

Robert Dale Owen were among the hardest workers in the party, and it was facetiously dubbed the "Fanny Wright party" by its opponents.

The agitations of the Workingman's party extended into Massachusetts, and even Edward Everett contributed a lecture and a pamphlet to the movement. It was finally metamorphosed into the "Locofoco" party and had no little influence in developing the anti-slavery movement of a later period. Robert Owen fully endorsed the political socialistic movement after his colony experience and its influence went with him to England and had its effect in the Chartist movement.

As to the anti-slavery movement, the fact has been established that Lincoln was moved to sign the emancipation proclamation by two Socialists, Horace Greeley and Robert Dale Owen.

CHAPTER III.—THE FOURIERISTIC ACTIVITY.

The Fourier movement was introduced in America by Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley in the early forties. It swept over the United States like a wave and when it had entirely receded some ten years later, had left many sad wrecks. Dozens of phalanxes and domains were established, and one, the North American, the favorite of Greeley, had a capital of \$8,000.

Fourierism followed the Owen activity as a second enthusiastic national movement and was doomed to like disaster. Few of the associations attempted to put even half of the elaborate social scheme of Fourier into practice, (in fact, it would have been almost impossible to do so) but their failure did not come from that fact, but because of the impossibility of reforming society in spots. To borrow a simile, the little reform islands are sure to be engulfed by the sea of capitalistic methods of living.



JOHN RUSKIN,

**The announcement of whose death comes (Jan. 20, 1900) just as
this volume goes to press.**

In 1843 this movement was at its height, and there were then no less than thirty-four colonies or phalanxes. The following list gives the principal ones among them.

Alphadelphia Phalanx, Michigan.

Brook Farm, Massachusetts.

Brooks' experiment, Ohio.

Bureau Co. phalanx, Illinois.

Clarkson Industrial Association, New York.

Clermont Phalanx, Ohio.

Columbia Phalanx, Ohio.

Garden Grove, Iowa.

Goose Pond Community, Pennsylvania.

Grand Prairie Community, Ohio.

Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Integral Phalanx, Illinois.

Jefferson Co. Industrial Association, New York.

LaGrange Phalanx, Indiana.

Leroyville Phalanx, Pennsylvania.

Marlboro Association, Ohio.

McKean Co. Association, Pennsylvania.

Moorhouse Union, New York.

North American Phalanx, New Jersey.

Northampton Association, Massachusetts.

Ohio Phalanx, Ohio.

"One-Mention" Community, Pennsylvania.

Ontario Phalanx, New York.

Prairie Home Community, Ohio.

Rariton Bay Union, New Jersey.

Sangamon Phalanx, Illinois.

Skaneateles Community, New York.

Social Reform Unity, Pennsylvania.

Sodus Bay Phalanx, New York.

Spring Farm Association, Wisconsin.

Sylvania Association, Pennsylvania.

Trumbull Phalanx, Ohio.

Utilitarian Association, Wisconsin.

Washtenaw, Phalanx, Michigan.

Wisconsin Phalanx, Wisconsin.

Of the above, three only need be here singled out for separate attention. These are Brook Farm, the North American and the Wisconsin. Before speaking of them, however, a word must be said of Brisbane, whom we may safely regard as America's first notable contribution to the ranks of international Socialists. As a young man, he went to Europe to study and became active in the ranks of the revolutionary propagandists. First he was a follower of St. Simon and later of Fourier, from whom he had personal instructions in the new philosophy. He was under the eye of the police most of the time and had various difficulties with them. A St. Simonian paper which he put in a leading coffee house of Berlin caught the eye of Wilhelm Weitling and started him in his communistic career. In 1838-39 he began his great work in this country for the spread of Fourier's doctrines. He got a handful of adherents together and rented a meeting room in New York. His greatest convert was Horace Greeley, who was already socialistically inclined, and who opened the columns of his paper, the "New York Tribune," to the new idea in 1842. At about this time Brisbane issued his first book: "Brisbane on Association." He had a column in the "Tribune" every day in which to preach Fourierism, and as the "Tribune" was the foremost paper of the country, the effect was magical. The laboring and farming classes were especially aroused as the times were then very hard and actual experiments sprung up all over the country. It is estimated that 8,641 persons were actual participants with 17,000 adherents at large, and that the domains added together made up fully 136,000 acres, or an average of about 3,000 each.

While not the largest, the Brook Farm experiment was best known. It was located near Boston and its leading spirits were George Ripley, the litterateur, and Chas. A. Dana, afterward the editor of the New York Sun. It began as an independent experiment, but afterward yielded to Bris-

bane's pleading and embraced Fourierism. The domain consisted of 208 acres, which were bought in 1842, and there were at one time 115 members, recruited from New England's most cultured circles. Among those identified with the undertaking were George William Curtis, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Greenleaf Whittier, Theodore Parker, Dr. Channing, Margaret Fuller, Thos. Wentworth Higginson and others. It was a social success but not a financial one. The life on



the farm was charming. A paper called "The Harbinger," was published on the grounds and some income was derived from a young people's school, in charge of Ripley. The Brook Farm people did little or no manufacturing and bent all their efforts to the field of agriculture. In this department they made costly mistakes through their inexperience and also were handicapped, especially in certain harvesting seasons, by Ripley's scrupulous adherence to the eight hour work day. Beautiful as was the cultured intercourse of the members, there began to be felt a desire for more seclusion for the families, and to meet this and also the need of more room for new members, a great phalanstery building was begun. It was the hope of the members and must have cost not less than \$10,000. This structure was three stories in height, with the second and third floors divided into fourteen family suites of rooms, and a high basement containing a kitchen, a dining hall with a capacity of 350, and a big hall

and lecture room. The building was 175 feet long and wide verandas ran all the way round at each story.

But all at once disaster seemed to mark Brook Farm for its own. Greeley's political opponents, with all the malignity of partisanship seized upon his socialistic and communistic beliefs as a promising point of attack. They charged that Fourierism constituted an assault on the sanctity of the family and was an affront to chastity. Brisbane, too, had been charged with so many heretical beliefs that he had finally tired of setting himself right. All this hurt the movement and resulted, in Brook Farm's case, in anxious parents taking their children out of the farm school. This cut off considerable revenue. And then came the culmination. On the evening of March 3, 1845, the new phalanstery building, which was about ready for occupancy, took fire mysteriously and burned to the ground. There was no insurance. The blow was too much for the Brook Farmites, and they lost courage. "The Harbinger" was removed to New York in the fall and the colony soon after dissolved. It had been an interesting experiment, *but it had solved no social problems*. A romantic glimpse of life at Brook Farm is given in Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance."

The North American Phalanx was located forty miles south of New York City, at Red Bank, Monmouth Co., N. J., and had 673 acres. Greeley favored it rather than Brook Farm because it was near a large market, and it was generally looked upon as the test experiment of Fourierism. Brisbane took the lead in the first experiments and Greeley was its vice president. It was started in September, 1843, and had at one time 112 participants. Its property was valued at \$80,000. It lasted longer than the other experiments, being dissolved in 1855, with the leaders making various explanations as to the cause of failure. With it ended the hopes of the Fourierites.

The Wisconsin Phalanx also had a comparative long life—six years! It was begun May 27, 1844, a domain of 1800

acres being secured near what is now the town of Ripon. The community settlement was called Ceresco and contained at one time 180 members. There were thirty-six families and 30 single members, although the start had been made with but nineteen members. The success of the Wisconsin phalanx, which operated under a state charter, was undoubtedly due to its leading spirit, Warren Chase, who was an inspirer of others and also a remarkably good manager. He insisted that the colony keep out of debt and inaugurated other wise precautions. Shares were sold at \$25 each. When the end came in the spring of 1850, owing to the younger members having caught the land speculation fever that raged in the round about country, forty thousand dollars was realized on the property and divided among the members. The paper, "The Gleaner," which had been published, was suspended. The Ceresco experiment had been materially successful, but not socially so.

The result of the Fourieristic failures drove Brisbane back to France, where he threw himself into the Socialistic movement with great energy. He moved about Europe and met many radical notables. In 1849 he was expelled from France for making a speech that shocked the authorities. He died in the United States in 1890 at the age of 81 years.

During the Fourieristic activity numerous conventions were held. A Socialist convention was held in New York in 1843. At the close of the same year a Fourierist convention was held at Boston with William Bassett, of Lyons, as president, and Chas. A. Dana as Secretary.

In 1844 a national convention was held at Clinton hall in New York in April. Ripley presided, and Dana and Greeley were among the vice-presidents.

In May, '46, the American Union of Associations was organized at Boston. It had headquarters in New York, with Brisbane as its leading genius. "The Phalanx," which had been moved to New York from Brook Farm, was edited by Dana, whose writings grew to be anarchistic.

CHAPTER IV.—WEITLING AND CABET.

The period between 1847 and 1856 may be said to have formed a sort of transitional epoch between the purely communistic experiments and the dawning of the more formidable kind of Socialism, which aims at a conquest of the political power. The German political refugees who came to America in 1847–48 brought the seeds of the new agitation with them. Wilhelm Weitling was the most commanding figure of this period and he combined Socialism and Communism in his propaganda. He was an agitator, par excellence, and was forced to this country by the persecution of the German police.

The "social democratic tailor," as Engels called him, was the first Socialist of note to visit this country. This sturdy pioneer in the Socialist movement, ante-dating Marx, Engels and Lassalle, reached New York in the Spring of 1847. Being a man of action, he lost no time in starting a Socialist organization on the new soil. He called it the *Refreiungs Bund* (the Union for Deliverance).

Fünfter Jahrgang.

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New-York, Sonnabend, den 1. März 1854.

Wie es in der Welt zugeht.

Die letzten und bis jetzt zugewonnenen europäischen Nachrichten scheinen schon unsere in Nr. 3 d. Bl. ausgesprochenen Ansichten bestätigen zu wollen. Dänisch, Preussisch, Dänisch und Schweden erklären darin ihre Neutralität: eine Erklärung, welche mit einem Anschlusse an Russland fast gleichbedeutend ist, nur daß man sich darin einweisen in die Desinteresse (versteigende Stellung) stellt, anstatt die Interessen (die angestrichen) zu nehmen. Die Türkei (die angestrichen) zu nehmen, insofern Truppen nach Konstantinopel landen und einige russische Schiffe in den Grund bohren, der einer dritten Partei, welche sich vor der Schlacht zwischen zwei kriegführenden Mächten aufstellt und erwartet, daß man von beiden Seiten über ihre Köpfe hinwegschreien und ihre Reiben nicht durchbrechen soll. Die Neutralitätserklärung Schwedens und Dänemarks ver-

leiht für solche Stellung eine Menge einflussreicher Staatsmänner in England wirken werden, ist ganz ohne Zweifel, daß aber Frankreich — einmal in die fröhen Revolutionen hineingeworfen — unter Venetianer Papstern nicht mehr zurückgehen kann, ist eben so gewiss. Diesem bleibt dann nichts mehr übrig, als sich die verschiedenartigen revolutionären Elemente, selbst die, welche er vor den Kopf gestoßen, wieder in irgend einer Weise — je nach den Umständen — zu verbinden. Weg nach England, insofern Truppen nach Konstantinopel landen und einige russische Schiffe in den Grund bohren, der einer dritten Partei, welche sich vor der Schlacht zwischen zwei kriegführenden Mächten aufstellt und erwartet, daß man von beiden Seiten über ihre Köpfe hinwegschreien und ihre Reiben nicht durchbrechen soll. Die Neutralitätserklärung Schwedens und Dänemarks ver-

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Worum ich in Communia Verwalter sein wollte.

Mit A. zuerst den Versuch machte, mit mir aber Central-Verwalter-Verhältnisse auf dem langen öffentlichen Wege durch unser Dasein zu verfahren — eine in Administrations-sachen ganz neue Methode — schied ich be-greiflicherweise und ließ mich ruhig als einen zur Verwaltung unfähigen Menschen hin-stellen. Die Ursache konnte es weder bei mir noch bei irgend einem Menschen in meiner Stellung sein, die mich anseuer, die Verwal-

But Weitling had scarcely gotten his bearings in this country, when the news of the upheavels in Germany fired him with a feeling of duty to the comrades he had left. He went back to Germany but before reaching that country the famous March revolution was over, and he had to content himself with a participation in the minor revolts which followed it. Two years later, however, he was again forced to leave, and again he came to America as a haven of safety. This was in August, 1851. He then established a Laborer's Union in New York, which had for its object the founding and sustaining of a communistic colony to be called "Communia," and located in Iowa, to which state many of the German immigrants were then flocking. The community was started in 1853 at Clayton county, Iowa, it being formally organized as the Communia Workingmen's League. Weitling remained in New York publishing a newspaper called: "Republik der Arbeiter," and thus securing contributions and recruits for the undertaking. The head of the colony was M. Baumann, who was officially termed administrator. G. Nehser was foreman of the farm branch, John G. Smith of the industry branch, Louis Arnold of the building branch, and Mr. Weitling was official agent. Communia survived but a year or two, the failure being due to lack of harmony among the colonists. The settlement is still in existence, however, and its name may be seen on some of the larger maps.

Weitling's *Arbeiter bund*, or Laborers' union, had headquarters on Beekman street, New York, and for several years he published his paper, "Republik der Arbeiter." This only met with scant support, as could hardly have otherwise been the case, and finally suspended. Weitling was now in poor financial circumstances and probably discouraged. He had sowed the seeds of Socialism in America, but had not achieved the results he had counted on. His spirit, which had sustained him through his European persecutions, was broken. He secured employment as a clerk in the immigrant office of

Castle Garden and appears to have taken no further part in socialistic or labor agitation. He and Marx had not approved of each other's ideas in Europe, and when the Marx International secured a foothold in New York, he did not join the branch, although he is said to have given it hearty endorsement. He devoted his leisure to study and invention. He died Jan. 25, 1871. Only three days before, he attended a brotherhood fete of the German, French and English sections of the city, and made an address.

Weitling was a man of commanding appearance, and a pleasing speaker. He was blessed with a loud voice and was liked everywhere. He was of medium height and somewhat stout. Dr. Edmund Ignatz Koch was a co-worker with Weitling and between them they spread 1,000 copies of revolutionary pamphlets written by Blanqui.

The Cabet experiment, which had its beginning at about the time that Weitling started his work in this country, may be said to have come as a belated bit of Owenism. Cabet first tried to establish his Icaria in Texas, and it was Owen who caused him to choose that state, still having in mind his own frustrated plans there. Etienne Cabet was a man of some standing in his native country. Scholar, historian, essayist, scientist, agitator, he stirred France for two generations by his communistic writings and projects. In 1840 he published an Utopian romance called "A Voyage to Icaria," modelled somewhat after More's Utopia. The workingmen of Paris went wild over it. Cabet kept up the propaganda and in 1841 established a paper, the "Populaire." Gradually the idea of an actual Icaria began to take shape, and in 1847 an editorial appeared under the heading: "Let us go to Icaria."

Cabet was overwhelmed with responses and the people were so importunate that the experiment was really begun within the year. The paper had written glowingly of the success of the Rappite and other communities in America and

the Cabetites naturally regarded the new country as the place to begin. On the morning of February 3, 1848, the first band left Havre—sixty-nine picked men—as a sort of advance guard, with impatient thousands waiting to follow shortly afterward. While the ship "Rome" was on the ocean the downfall of Louis Philippe took place and the Second Republic was established. This caused a split among the Cabetites, some wanting to recall the advance band and to gradually transform France into an Icaria; the others headed by Cabet, realized that France was still hostile to their aims.

On the 3d of June the second expedition left France for Texas, but of the previously eager thousands only nineteen actually embarked!

The first expedition had met with great disappointments. The land, which had been secured on an option by Cabet, was not washed by the Red river, as claimed, but 250 miles inland, in Fannin county, and separated by a trackless wilderness of prairies, forests and swamps. Their experience in getting to their domain was most disheartening, and was made worse by sickness and the breakdown of their wagon. On arriving they found that the million acres supposed to have been acquired by Cabet had only been partly secured and that it consisted of half sections that alternated with other holdings, so that it formed a sort of checkerboard. As actual settlement was required, they were only able to build log huts enough to secure thirty-two half sections, or 10,240 acres in all, scattered through two townships.

Failure was written on everything the Icarians attempted and in four months they began a retreat. In parties of twos and threes they made their way to Shrievport, five dying on the way. The nineteen of the second expedition participated in this retreat. They reached New Orleans toward the close of 1848.

Meantime Cabet and others had left France and were on their way to this country. In March, 1849, it had been decided to take up the town of Nauvoo, Illinois, practically de-



The Late WILLIAM MORRIS.

Poet, Socialist, Artist, Manufacturer and Agitator.

serted by the Mormons, and the little band made its way thither as soon as was possible under the existing conditions of Mississippi steamboat travel. Houses were plenty and prosperity gradually came to the band of intrepid colonists. Their ranks were augmented by new arrivals and in 1855 they numbered 500 members. They had workshops, a distillery, a flouring mill and farms, and a school for the children. A newspaper was also published and pamphlets printed. The Mormons had left unfinished a large temple of dressed limestone, and this Cabet bought with the intention of making it a grand Icarian assembly hall. A fire had burned out the interior while the Mormons were in possession, but the walls were good. A tornado blew down the walls, however, and so Cabet abandoned it, and the stone was used for other purposes. The main Icarian building was 150 by 30 feet, and two stories high. The first floor was used as a common dining hall, assembly room, theater, etc., while the upper rooms were used as dwellings. The old Mormon arsenal was transformed into a workshop, and the community had a thousand acres of rented land under cultivation. Various trades were carried on and the entire community was a model of industry, intelligence and peaceful order.

It was never intended to make Nauvoo a permanent dwelling place, and so as early as 1852 a number of members were sent into Iowa to secure a new site. Over three thousand acres of government land was secured in the southwestern part of the state, near what is now the town of Corning, and a few settlers were sent there. In 1850 Cabet gave the community a constitution, providing for a president and five directors. He was elected and re-elected president. He was now seventy years old and had grown somewhat arbitrary. Some of the younger members came to disagree with him, a strife developed and on Feb. 3, 1856, Cabet was defeated for the presidency, a younger member, J. B. Gerard, being elected. The following day Cabet, who had been greatly surprised at this action, yielded a point he had contended for and the

election was reconsidered and he was elected. The discord did not cease, however, and Cabet finally proposed a separation, one faction to go to Iowa. The anti-Cabet faction got control and internal war broke out, the civil authorities having to intervene to prevent bloodshed. Cabet tried to bring about the dissolution of the colony in the state courts, but the plan failed. He also tried to get the legislature to annul the community's charter but the vote resulted unfavorably, 55 to 9.

Nov. 1, 1856, Cabet, with 180 followers, left Nauvoo. Seven days later he died of apoplexy in St. Louis. His little band established a colony at Cheltenham within a few miles of St. Louis. They were prosperous for a time, but finally reverses came, and in January, 1864, the Cheltenham experiment came to an end.

The community at Nauvoo was greatly weakened by the split. Finally in 1860 the members removed to the Iowa domain. The new land was in Adams county. In 1863 there was a debt of \$15,500 hanging over the members' heads. When the war of the Rebellion broke out it sent up prices and this came at an opportune time for the Icarians. They cleared large sums on their crops and by giving up some of their land reduced their debt to practically nothing. They still lived in a squallid way, however, although a few years later they built better homes, a dozen small white cottages, arranged on the sides of a parallelogram, with a large central unitary kitchen and dining room.



Icaria now seemed to flourish, but underneath the surface a new strife was developing. The younger people were pitted against the older ones in demanding a change in the scope

and an expansion of the work and influence of the community. They wanted to do more propaganda work. In 1876 the younger members asked for a separation. It was refused and finally the matter got into the courts.

On August 17, 1878, the circuit court declared the colony charter forfeited, and the upshot was that the domain was divided, the young members getting the original village site. The young folks were vigilant and got a charter in the original name, forcing the older members to incorporate as the "New Icarian Community." Later some Icarians removed to a new domain in California, which was short lived.

In 1892 the new Icarian community had twenty-two members, with 950 acres of land, which was valued at \$14,250. The net capital was \$26,525.

The end of the Icarian experiment came in 1898. On Oct. 31, Judge Towner, in the district court of Corning, wound up its affairs officially at the request of the members. In a letter written recently, E. F. Bettanier, the last president of the Icarians, says that it was not financial embarrassment that caused the dissolution. Each family occupied its separate house, and lived well and enjoyed life. The number of members was too small, and some had children living outside, whom they wished to be with. Moreover, he says there were some selfish ones who forgot the purpose for which the community was organized. Thus ends what has been aptly termed "The sad story of Icaria."

CHAPTER V.—THE PIONEERS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

The steady influx of German immigrants following the political disturbance of 1848 made it possible as early as 1850 to found Turner societies in this country, and it is an interesting fact to Socialists that all these early Turner organizations were avowedly socialistic.

Their influence on the succeeding growth of the Socialist movement in America is hard to estimate, for that growth was very slow. For years it seemed as if it would never take root among the native Americans. This fear finally caused great anxiety among the leaders, and many of them lost heart because of it and dropped out of the fight.

As a matter of fact the Turners were not organized as Socialists so much for propaganda on this side of the ocean as they were for the purpose of supplementing and encouraging the movement in Germany. It is true, however, that this condition wore off and that the Turners did their share in trying to get Socialism established on American soil.

The first Socialist Turn Verein convention was held at Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1850. Several societies sent delegates, among them Baltimore, Boston, New York and Cincinnati, which were the strongest. The name, American Gymnastic Union of North America, was chosen, but this was changed the following year to the Socialistic Gymnastic Union. It had at that time seventeen local societies, with large memberships. When the war of the Rebellion broke out, most of the Turners went to the front to fight against negro slavery.

When the war was over the Turner Societies reorganized as the North American Gymnastic Union, and ceased to be distinctively Socialistic. In 1876 a Socialistic Turner Society and turn school existed in New York City, but it had no influence with the other societies of the country. Many of the old Turners have become Republicans as a legacy of the war, while others have become large employers and grown conservative by reason of their changed class interests.

In the spring of 1852, Joseph Weydemeyer, a friend of Karl Marx, began to disseminate the teachings of Marx and Engels as set forth in the Communist Manifesto.

In order to do this the better, he began the publication of a monthly magazine in the German language, which he called "The Revolution." The first number was especially notable through containing a specially contributed article by Marx. The magazine could not well have been more short lived, as the second number never made its appearance. Weydemeyer had the financial assistance of a German merchant named H. Meyer, but the magazine was found too expensive to continue. Weydemeyer was an engineer under Fremont during the war and built the fortifications round St. Louis. He died in that city.

In 1853 Weitling's Arbeiter Bund dissolved, and for several years thereafter the Socialists in New York were unorganized.

In 1857 a club of Communists was founded in New York by German revolutionists of 1848. It did considerable propaganda work and on the following year arranged a memorial meeting in honor of the Paris June revolution of 1848, with an attendance of 1,000 men of various nationalities.

In 1865 enough followers of Lassalle were located in New York for an attempt at organization. They were not able to hold together, however, and did not succeed until three years later.

In 1866 a congress of national labor organizations was held in Baltimore and a Socialist delegate named E. Schlegel, who was elected vice president of the congress, made an unsuccessful effort to create a political labor party.

During the year following, several members of the club of Communists together with some members of the labor organizations in New York and in coalition with a newly formed club of Lassallites, issued a call for a mass meeting for the purpose of starting a proletarian political party. The meeting was held Jan. 20, 1868, in the Germania assembly rooms on the Bowery and was well attended. An organization known



A. S. EDWARDS,
Editor "Social Democratic Herald."

as the Social Party was effected and a platform adopted which embodied the principles of the International of Marx, together with several positive demands for the laboring class.

During the following summer an address was sent to the central body of the International at Geneva, Switzerland, by the temporary central committee of the party, and signed by its president, F. A. Sorge.

During the same year the National Labor Union, which had previously held aloof from politics, reconsidered the matter and formed the Labor Reform party. The members of the Social party did not wish to in any way obstruct this class-conscious action of the trade organizations and so ceased all agitation under their party name and gave the new movement all their strength. The result was that the new political party sent a delegate to the congress of the International which was held that year at Baslé, Switzerland. The name of the delegate was A. C. Cameron. W. H. Sylvis who served as one of the presidents of the Labor Reform party, was one of the hardest working Socialists.

In 1869 the Social party took on new life and was strengthened by an affiliation with the International through its London office. Soon the International became international in fact, by the formation of sections in the various cities of the United States, which sections did a valuable work by keeping in close fellowship with the various labor unions.

During all this time the "respectable" people of the United States had increased their apprehension as to Socialism and Communism. The foreign news was full of lurid accounts of the "new social terror," which the American capitalist editors took good care to supplement with denunciatory and foreboding editorials. This "respectable" element breathed a little easier in 1870, when Judge Thomas Hughes, the Christian Socialist, and author of "Tom Brown at Rugby," and "Tom Brown at Oxford," made a lecture tour through the country.

The year 1871 was notable for the arrival of a number of

French refugees, the Paris Commune having just been suppressed. These people "brought with them a spirit of violence," Prof. Ely says. During this year "The Arbeiter Union" was established, with the honored Socialist and revolutionist, Dr. Adolph Douai, as editor. The following year Victoria Woodhull, prominent along cognate lines, espoused the International and "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly" took on a socialistic flavor. Mrs. Woodhull Martin is now editress of "The Humanitarian," of London, a magazine that numbers among its contributors such notable Socialists as Grant Allen, E. Belford Bax, Prof. Caesar Lombroso, Bernard Shaw, Prof. Alfred Russell Wallace, J. A. Hobson and the like.

The year 1872 was an important one for the cause in America for it witnessed the removal to New York of the headquarters of the Marx International. This came about in this way: There had been a growing feeling between the two wings of the organization. On the one side were those who believed in the ballot, headed by Marx, on the other the followers of Bakounine, who were Anarchists. It was felt that the Anarchists must be got rid of at any cost and so the congress of the International for 1872 was held at The Hague, where Bakounine could not come from Switzerland, because he would have to cross countries where he would be arrested. This gave the Marxites control, and to make their victory more lasting the headquarters were removed from London to New York. Bakounine held a congress of his own at Geneva and thus two Internationals took the place of one. By the removal of the headquarters to New York, the struggle between the Socialists and Anarchists re-appeared on the new shore.

The first proclamation from the new headquarters was an appeal to workingmen to emancipate labor and to eradicate all national and international strife. The disastrous times of the following year helped its agitators and it made no little headway. During 1872 a socialist congress was held in New York with 22 sections represented by delegates.

In 1874 the Socialists founded the Social Democratic Workingman's Party at a convention held at Philadelphia. A. Strasse, a cigarmaker and a representative of the practical American labor movement, was made secretary. Two resolutions were passed; one to unite all Socialist groups in the country, and the other to place the matter in the hands of the executive officers. Representatives of the United Workers, an English speaking organization and of the International held conferences and in 1876 succeeded in uniting on the federative principle. A general labor convention was called, which was held at Pittsburg. There were 106 delegates, only twenty of whom were Socialists. The latter managed to dominate the convention, but the meeting was a failure and accomplished nothing.

This was in effect the end of the International. It had done wonders in getting the advanced laboring people out of the hands of the capitalistic politicians. It also caused several valuable papers to be published, the "Vorbote" of Chicago and the "Labor Standard," among others. It was helpful to the unions and kept them in touch with the other trade organizations.

Later, in 1876, another labor party was started, the Workingman's Party of the United States. It was soon internally disturbed, the new comers from Germany disagreeing with those of longer residence over tactics. The former wanted to follow on the same lines as the party in Germany. Many of the Marxists of longer residence left the party, but the times were so bad that it nevertheless made considerable headway, especially as a result of the serious railway strikes of 1877.

In 1876 J. P. Maguire, an excellent speaker, made a notable agitation tour of the country. Several papers soon after began to exist, among them the "Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung," founded by Paul Grottkau, Joseph Brucker's "Milwaukee Socialist," daily, and also an English weekly a year later, in Milwaukee, called "The Emancipator." In Chicago, Albert

Parsons and G. A. Schilling were at the head of an English speaking section.

In 1877 the Workingman's party met at Newark, N. J., abandoning the International, or what was left of it, to the Communistic Anarchists. The trades unions had already left it.

At the Newark meeting the name of the party was changed to the Socialistic Labor party.

In 1877 the Socialists cast their lot with the Greenback Labor Party, owing to its advocacy of certain labor reforms. This party got quite a vogue with laborers and farmers, who were caught, some of them, by its "unlimited paper money" dream, while others endorsed the spirit of the party. This was the forerunner of several similar parties including the late lamented People's Party, and was bitterly opposed to silver as well as gold money. In the November election in New York a vote of 1,365 was run up and considerable voting strength was manifest all over the country for a year or so. In 1877, also, a labor ticket in Cincinnati polled 9,000 votes, but it fell back to 1,500 a year later. In 1879 four labor candidates in Chicago were elected to the city council and the labor candidate for mayor got 12,000 votes. Three men were elected to the Illinois legislature, but they were in no sense class-conscious. In 1878 the labor candidate for governor of Ohio received 12,000 votes.

It was at about this time that the Anarchists began to show strength. The line between Anarchism and Socialism was not at this time sharply drawn in the Socialist organizations, in spite of the fact of their being opposites. Both being critics and denouncers of the present system, however, they were able to work together.

As a result of the brutalities of the militia and regulars in the railway strikes of 1877, a new plan was devised by the Chicago agitators. This found expression in the Lehr and Wehr Verein (teaching and defense society), an armed and drilled body of workmen pledged to protect the workers

against the militia in the case of a strike. But a Commune anniversary festival was held in 1879 in Chicago, and the Lehr and Wehr Verein paraded. Instantly the capitalists were taken with a panic. The result was the prompt passing of a law forbidding any company of men to drill or bear arms without a state permit. A test was made of the constitutionality of this law, but both the state and the national supreme courts considered it wise and upheld it. The arms-bearing tactics were opposed by the executive committee of the S. L. P., the secretary of which was Philip von Patten. A fight ensued between the "Verbote," which was the weekly edition of the "Arbeiter Zeitung," of Chicago, and the "Labor Bulletin," the official party organ, which Patten edited. Grottkau was not an Anarchist, but he had resented the assumption of authority which the executive board displayed and had given his support to the extreme wing, even becoming a member personally of the Lehr and Wehr Verein. Matters led on till the S. L. P. convention, held in New York in 1881, at which several members of the extreme wing were excluded because they did not acknowledge the "authority" of the party. The use of the word "authority" incensed some of the Anarchistic members and one section in New York rebelled and tried to start a more radical organization. One of the leaders was Justus Schwab, and an English monthly paper was arranged for, called "The Anarchist." The new party was called the International Workingman's Association.

In 1882 Johann Most, the Anarchist firebrand, came to this country and the Anarchists became more dominant than ever. Grottkau, however, realizing the way things were tending, began to occupy middle ground. Things in Chicago were growing warm, and he tried hard to bring back the former conditions. In the East matters were much the same and when the S. L. P. convention met in 1883 at Baltimore the Anarchists were given the cold shoulder, it being decided not to affiliate in any way with their organization, which



F. G. R. GORDON,
Agitator and Author of several pamphlets.

had been perfected at Pittsburg a month earlier in the year.

Grottkau was now thoroughly enlisted against the Anarchists, realizing that they were inimical to the true interests of the proletarian movement. He fought valiantly for his view of the matter and wrote and spoke ardently, but the ground he had himself prepared was against him. He held a notable debate with Most in which he had decidedly the best of the argument and achieved an intellectual and argumentative victory; but not so thought the crowd, which was still filled with his previous teachings. A few weeks later he was forced to retire from the "Arbeiter Zeitung" and to turn over the editorial pen to August Spies, the former business manager, and a man more to Most's liking. Spies remained at that post and it brought him to the gallows—unjustly, as all honest men must admit—and that same fate might possibly have come to Grottkau had he remained in charge.

The New York Volkszeitung, the German Socialist daily, which was started in 1879, studiously ignored Most, because he had been expelled from the Social Democratic party in Germany. Not so the "Labor Bulletin." It tried to fight him, but failed, as Most used ridicule for argument and was more agile than his opponent. Patten, the editor, finally gave up in disgust, taking refuge in a government job. He was not the only discouraged Socialist, for the movement during the years 1880-5 was at a very low ebb.

And then came the memorable year 1886. The agitation for an 8-hour work-day, which Grottkau had helped start had grown to large proportions. An united demand was to be made May 1, for the change in hours. In Chicago the excitement was high. The McCormack reaper works, where the men were out on strike, was visited by a crowd of excited people. There was a conflict with the police and one of the rioters was shot. A meeting of protest was held at the Hay-market on the evening of May 4, about 350 Anarchists and laborers being present, A. R. Parsons had finished speaking

and Samuel Fielden was holding forth, when seven companies of police appeared and commanded the crowd to disperse. Some unknown person threw a bomb which exploded with terrible effect, causing the death of five officers and wounding some sixty others. August Spies, A. R. Parsons, Louis Lingg, George Engel, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fischer and Oscar Neebe were tried for the affair and the trial was such a travesty on justice that the Socialists put aside their feeling of hostility to the Anarchists and held indignation meetings all over the country. Capitalism in Chicago had been long uneasy over the hysterical threatenings of the Anarchists, both at their street meetings and at their halls. The police frequently broke up their meetings and brutally clubbed the members.

The result was that the Anarchists were even more bitter toward the police than they were at the capitalist system itself, and they used most vengeful and threatening language, which the police and the capitalistic newspapers were quick to give publicity to. The people of Chicago were whipped into a state of terror by the newspapers and when once the leaders of the Anarchists were in the meshes of the law, capitalism did a popular thing when it demanded their blood. Judge Gary plainly showed his anxiety that they should suffer the death penalty, and men were admitted to the jury who made no secret of their feeling toward the men on trial. "Chicago Hangs Anarchists," declared the capitalistic "Chicago Tribune" during the trial, and it soon became clear that Anarchy was on trial and that a failure to prove the connection of the prisoners with the mysterious bomb thrower would not stand in the way of hanging them. As to the bomb thrower, it was quite clear that he was some fellow who had been moved to revenge himself on the police for their past brutalities. The upshot of the trial was that Spies, Fischer, Engel and Parsons were hung. Lingg, who would also have hung, committed suicide in his cell, or at least it is claimed he did. Schwab, Fielden and Neebe were sent to prison and after-

ward pardoned by Gov. Altgeld in a document showing the utter unfairness of the trial.

Nor was Chicago the only storm center of the 8-hour agitation. In Milwaukee there was also rioting and the accompanying misrepresentation of the capitalistic press, the inventive reporters making good use of the fact that many of the leaders spoke a foreign tongue. Thus Paul Grottkau, who was then editor of the "Milwaukee Arbeiter Zeitung," made speeches to the crowds, urging them, as a Socialist naturally would, to give up violence and redress their wrongs at the ballot box. His attitude was misrepresented, his words falsely translated, and he himself arrested as an instigator of the rioting. He was afterward found not guilty. At Milwaukee, also, the militia was ordered out by the governor, and in a conflict near the rolling mills several Polish strikers were brutally shot down.

Naturally these labor disturbances had their effect politically and in the fall election in Milwaukee a newly formed Union Labor party, started by the money-reformers, caught the labor vote and elected its entire ticket. Most of the men elected turned out to be mere politicians, however, and gave the city a disgraceful administration. In other cities labor parties also sprung up and made considerable showing on election day.

In New York, where Henry George's tax reform ideas had gotten many supporters, George was nominated for mayor by the United Labor Party. The S. L. P. united with the new party and George polled 67,000 votes.

In 1887, George, who was an Individualist, decided to throw the Socialists over, and at the Syracuse convention, at which he was nominated for governor, the collectivists were summarily turned down. They organized the Progressive Labor Party and cast 5,000 votes. In 1888 they cast 2,500 votes, and the party gave up the ghost.

From 1888 to 1891 the S. L. P. remained out of politics. Lucian Sanial says that Socialism was never at so low an ebb



EUGENE DIETZGEN,
Delegate of the Social Democratic Party to the International
Congress at Paris in 1900.

in this country as in 1888, after the collapse of the George movement and the hanging of the Chicago Anarchists. The latter occurrence, it may be added, or rather, the Anarchist ascendancy in Chicago, did the cause lasting harm there, it having to the present day remained in the hands of the Anarchists, who have been able to some extent to thwart all efforts at successful Socialist lodgment.

CHAPTER 6.—THE GESTATION OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

We now turn a bright page in the history of Socialism in America, for at this point the clouds of despair and failure begin to lift and the sun of promise and final triumph shines forth. As has been said, the earlier revolutionary Socialism was practically wiped out by the civil war. After the war immigrants from Germany and France made almost tireless efforts to re-establish it, but their agitations being carried on in a foreign tongue and of necessity among foreign residents the American people were not attracted by it, but on the contrary, their apprehension was only increased. Socialism was by them confounded with Anarchism, and was believed to be synonymous with spoliation, incendiarism, and general disorder. Even as late as 1887 an American party was organized at Philadelphia for the purpose, among other things, of excluding from citizenship "anarchists, socialists, and *other dangerous characters!*" Laurence Gronlund has said that in 1880 he could count the native born American Socialists on the fingers of one hand. Had the foreign born residents suddenly left the country they would have practically taken Socialism with them. In 1880 Judge Thomas Hughes, the Christian Socialist, founded a profit-sharing, semi-communistic colony at New Rugby, in the Cumberland mountains of Tennessee, and delivered several lectures in the larger cities. A year later this colony had nearly 300 members and enjoyed a short-lived prosperity.

The American awakening to Socialism began with the appearance of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" in 1888, although in 1884 Laurence Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth" was the first book to place the new theory before American readers in a popular way. This had a very fair sale and set many prominent men to thinking along new lines—and among them probably the novelist Edward Bellamy himself. "Looking Backward" was not at all scientific in its conception of Socialism or the probable Socialistic state, but it came as a great message to the American people, nevertheless, and its success was phenomenal. In the succeeding few years over 600,000 copies were sold and for a time it had a record of sales of over 1,000 a day. Still it must be noted that the word Socialism nowhere appeared in the book.

Bellamy and his converts at once organized clubs, which, with a cowardice that was perhaps justified, they called Nationalist clubs, and they persisted in calling their Socialism Nationalism. The first club was formed in Boston, December 1, 1888, with Charles E. Bowers as president. Others sprang up all over the country, at one time their number being recorded as 162. Some went into politics, and one candidate in California polled 1,000 votes. In Rhode Island a Nationalist state ticket was put in the field. In May, 1889, the Nationalist club of Boston began the publication of the "The Nationalist Magazine," and some idea of its literary merits may be had from these names which were among its official list of contributors: Edward Everett Hale, Mary A. Livermore, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Jennie June, Helen Campbell, Sylvester Baxter, Henry Austin, and Laurence Gronlund. Another contributor was Daniel DeLeon—this being his start in the Socialist movement, although he had previously participated in the George agitation. In 1891 Bellamy published a paper called the "New Nation." In 1889, the Christian Socialists were also encouraged to organize, the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss being the moving spirit. Their

party has never had more than a nominal existence. At about this time, too, the Knights of Labor developed great strength, but its undoubtedly Socialistic tendencies were nullified by Grand Master Workman T. V. Powderly, who kept the members out of emancipatory political efforts. In later years he became a Republican politician and was given a snug berth at Washington as a reward for his previous "services."

This year, 1889, was a notable one with the S. L. P. The meagre showing made by the Progressive Labor party had not strengthened the standing of the daily "Volkszeitung" with the advertising public, and it set itself squarely against a continuance of distinct Socialist candidates in succeeding elections. This raised a storm and the national executive committee declared for political tactics. Great bitterness ensued, and the upshot was that the committee was dispossessed by force. The party became split in twain, the "Volkszeitung" people, led by Alexander Jonas and Sergius Schevitch, having twenty-seven large sections back of them, and the political action faction, led by W. L. Rosenberg the national secretary, having twenty-three small ones. The Jonas-Schevitch-Sanial faction held its convention in Chicago Oct. 12, 1889, and began what it called its "aggressive policy," a policy which began as an uncompromising attitude toward reforms and "confusionism," but which developed into boss-rule and a petty terrorism that drove the better element from the party. A month previous, the Rosenberg faction held its convention in Chicago, also. Its official organ was the "Volks Anwalt," a paper which is still publishing.

In spite of these troubles there was a sort of revival of activity in 1889, which was due undoubtedly to the stimulus of Bellamy's book. It practically saved the S. L. P. from extinction. The Sanial faction now had seventy sections.

But there was an odd sequel*to the split of 1889. The Sanial faction went back on its determination to keep out of

politics, and just one year later put up an S. L. P. ticket. In Chicago in 1891 the two factions agreed to a temporary armistice and nominated Thos. J. Morgan for mayor. He got 2,500 votes.

In 1891 the "Workingman's Advocate," which had been published at New Haven, was moved to New York and its name changed to "The People." Sanial's eyesight was failing and it was planned to make a berth for DeLeon, who was regarded as a great acquisition to the party. During this year Sanial was sent as a delegate to the Brussels congress.

In 1892 the New York faction put up a candidate for president, a comrade named Wing, who received 21,224 votes. In New York the party cast 17,958 votes, 1,337 in New Jersey, 898 in Pennsylvania, 676 in Massachusetts, 333 in Connecticut and 22 in Florida.

At Cincinnati, in May, a National Reform Conference, the forerunner of the People's party, convened. The following year the People's party met at Omaha and adopted a semi-Socialistic platform, one however that also contained a superabundance of erroneous, middle class economics. During this year the famous Homestead strike occurred, a strike which showed the wonderful powers of resistance of the higher class of organized workmen, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel workers.

The efforts which were made in 1892 to reunite the two S. L. P. factions came to naught. At the convention of the Sanial faction at Chicago in 1893, 113 sections were reported, and Lucian Sanial was sent as a delegate to the Zurich congress. The Rosenberg faction, although strong at the start, lacked the sustaining strength of a daily newspaper such as the "Volkszeitung," and its subsequent career was uneven and showed a gradual loss of virility. It came to be called the "traveling faction," owing to its frequent change of its headquarters. This "party on wheels," as it was also dubbed, moved first to Cincinnati, then to Baltimore, then to



JAMES F. CAREY,
Social Democratic member of Massachusetts Legislature.
Reelected in 1899.

Buffalo, then to Cincinnati again, then to Chicago, and finally to Cleveland. It then changed its name to the Social Democratic Federation and kept up a merely nominal existence until 1898, when it was merged into the then already existing Social Democracy.

The year 1893 was notable in many ways. Bellamy's "New Nation" suspended publication, but the Yankeeifying of Socialism was given an immense advance by the founding of the "Coming Nation" at Greensburg, Ind., by J. A. Wayland. It had a unique style and elements of popularity which began to run its circulation up as by magic. Another notable fact was the founding of the American Railway Union, by Eugene V. Debs, who showed his comprehension of the solidarity of labor by originating this plan of superseding the various single craft organizations by one general, mutually helpful and mutually protective one. His plan was an unconscious contribution to the Socialist movement. Within one year the A. R. U. had won one of the greatest railway strikes in the history of the American labor movement—the Great Northern Railway strike.

The year 1894 began with the developing of the Coxey movement. Jacob S. Coxey was a well-to-do horse breeder at Massillon, Ohio, who was a money reformer and who had devised a "non-interest bearing bond" scheme, which was warranted to bring on the millennium for the middle class, and, "of course," be of great benefit to the working class in consequence. To draw attention away from the tariff agitation of the two capitalist parties, he organized a Commonwealth army of the unemployed—a "petition in boots," that was to march to Washington, D. C., and demand relief. In the latter part of March they started, 120 strong, and they were to get signatures *en route* for the bond and good roads schemes. They finally reached Washington, but Capitalism dealt with them very easily—it arrested the leaders for walking on the grass! Other armies which started from various parts of the country soon disbanded.

Interest in the Commonweal army had scarcely died away when the memorable Pullman strike broke out, followed by the almost complete tie-up of the railroads of the United States by the A. R. U. The first quadrennial convention of the order was held at Chicago in June, the reports showing a membership of over 150,000 men. At that time the strike of the unfortunates at the "model" industrial town of Pullman was in force, it having begun May 11. The operatives there were being paid scandalously low wages, yet were held in town by debts owing to the company for rentals (\$70,000 in all, Geo. M. Pullman claimed!) which the masters refused to lower to correspond with that of surrounding property. The matter came before the A. R. U. convention and the Pullman company was asked to arbitrate the strike. It preemptorily refused, declaring that it did not propose to have any interference with its business operations and that there was "nothing to arbitrate." After due negotiation, the A. R. U. declared a boycott on Pullman cars, the members of the organization throughout the country being ordered to refuse to move trains that had not cut off their Pullmans, until the rights of the Pullman employes were granted. True to their class feeling, the railroads refused to cut off the Pullman coaches, and so a gigantic battle began.

It opened Tuesday noon, June 26. Mr. Debs was in charge of the strike, assisted by Sylvester Keliher, the general secretary, and



DEBS AND HIS LIEUTENANTS.

the other officers. By sunset the first day the strike had been felt upon the Illinois Central system and other lines as far west as St. Paul. On the second day fifteen lines of railroad were tied up, and 5,000 members of the union had quit work. Traffic was paralyzed in Colorado, New Mexico, California and on both Northern and Southern Pacific systems. On the third day over 40,000 railroaders were out. The battle amazed everyone. Neither passengers or freight could be carried on any of the important railroads west of Chicago, while the eastern lines were also crippled. All California and adjoining country was train-bound. Transportation had been brought to an end. The power of union was manifest, but the railway managers declared they would fight to the bitter end. A General Managers' Association was formed on the fourth day, to crush out the A. R. U. The latter had kept within legal bounds, but the railway magnates conceived the idea of calling the power of the government to their aid. On the fifth day J. R. Sovereign, of the Knights of Labor, pledged the co-operation of his order. The strike was now felt on the Gould system, the Union Pacific, the Monon, and elsewhere. The Illinois Central called on the authorities for help, claiming that its property at Cairo was in danger. Governor Altgeld sent three companies. Labor organizations throughout the country began to swing in line. The general managers were desperate, for so long as they fought fairly they were out-generalled. Attorney General Olney and President Cleveland came to the rescue, however, by sending General Miles and a regiment of regulars to Chicago without being requested to do so by Governor Altgeld. The state officials declared this move to have been unnecessary, and, in fact, unconstitutional. Public order had not been in danger, and the presence of the U. S. troops was looked on as a delicate attempt to inflame the mob and incite it to disorder.

The general managers now boasted of success. On the seventh day, July 2, Judges Woods and Grosscup, at Chicago,

issued a sweeping omnibus injunction and Debs and his associates were enjoined from further prosecution of the boycott. On the tenth day some of the sympathizers with the strikers became more or less demonstrative and there were evidences that the railroad companies intended employing disguised detectives to incite the crowds on to overt acts in the hope of gaining public sympathy and thus hastening an end to the tie-up. The tenth day witnessed so much disturbance that Gov. Altgeld was moved to telegraph the president to withdraw the federal troops. The request was denied. In California five companies of militia declared their sympathy with the strike. In Colorado Gov. Waite took sides with the strikers. A serious strain was manifest at all points, although the A. R. U. members used all precautions to prevent their cause being hurt by violence. On the twelfth day there was bloodshed, two volleys being fired into a Chicago crowd of sympathizers. The federal authorities now began to treat the strike as an insurrection. Later it leaked out that they contemplated declaring martial law at Chicago, when it would have been an easy matter to take the strike leaders to the lake front and shoot them down.

Passing over the succeeding days, with their strain and turbulence, the shooting to kill by the regulars on the thirteenth day, the firing into a crowd of men, women and children at Hammond, Ind., the suspicious burning of freight cars, the partial resumption of business on some few roads, with the help of the intimidation of the courts, the proclamations of the Capitalistic tool, Cleveland, we come to the fifteenth day, when Debs was arrested upon indictment by a federal grand jury. Two days later the labor leader proposed to the general managers, through the mayor of Chicago, to end the strike on condition that the unionists be restored to their places, excepting those who might have been proven guilty of illegal conduct. This was contemptuously refused, and other measures were tried. By the 17th of July traffic, after a fashion, had been resumed on the railroads. On this

day Debs, Keliher, and two other officers were imprisoned for alleged contempt of court. The next day the troops were withdrawn from Chicago. On the 19th forty-three other strike participants were imprisoned, under excessive bail.

In September Debs and his fellow-officials were tried, a jury being denied them, and nearly three months later Judge



WOODSTOCK JAIL.

Woods sentenced Debs to six months and his lieutenants to three months in Woodstock jail. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court. The imprisonment began in May, 1895. The trial of Debs had been

a travesty on justice, as Capitalism succeeded in saving the general managers from being brought into court, so that it could be shown who really broke the law and destroyed property. Out of this came Debs' famous aphorism: "Government by Injunction."

But let us get back to the Socialist movement itself. At about the time these stirring scenes were being enacted, J. A. Wayland was perfecting plans to begin a communistic experiment near Tennessee City, Tenn., a domain of 1,000 acres being secured there. The wonderful growth of his paper encouraged him to make the attempt. The colony was begun in July, a modern perfecting printing press and outfit being moved down into the woods. Of course there were many eager to join, and the result was what might be expected. There was little real harmony. It was an eye-opener for the Socialist editor, and in less than a year later he withdrew, leaving the press, paper and other things behind him. The colony continued the publication of the paper and thus continued to make many converts to abstract

Socialism, although Wayland's editorials were missed from its columns.

In 1895 the Rev W. D. P. Bliss organized an American Fabian Society at Boston. It began a paper, "The American Fabian," calculated to interest a certain class in Socialism. In S. L. P. circles the year was marked by a clash between the New York "People" and the St. Louis "Labor," edited and published by Gustave Hoehn and Albert Sanderson. "Labor" was printed in many editions for various localities, with its name slightly altered to give it a local look. It had been authorized by the Chicago convention of 1893, but the "aggressive" policy of the "powers that be" in the party meant to maintain control of the party press, and when "Labor" seemed to be a dangerous rival to the "People," a quarrel was started which ultimately, it is claimed, caused the discontinuance of the Socialist newspaper union at St. Louis, and "Labor," as well. In August, 1895, Mr. Wayland re-established himself at Kansas City, and began the publication of the "Appeal to Reason," moving later to Girard, Kansas, where rents were lower. His paper at once achieved a large circulation and has continued to grow in influence until to-day it has over 80,000 paid subscribers, and is increasing the Socialist strength as it was never increased before. In November of this same year Debs' imprisonment at Woodstock came to an end and a multitude of admirers assembled to escort him back to Chicago. The ovation given him was most remarkable and it culminated in a monster meeting in Central Music Hall, at which his famous speech on "Liberty" was delivered, and the world at large began for the first time to realize his practical conversion to Socialism. On the stage were several Socialists. During his incarceration Debs had read all the Socialistic works sent him and thus prepared himself for the work that he intended taking up when his time had been served.

The ninth convention of the S. L. P. was held at New York July 4-10, 1896. There were ninety-four delegates



JOHN C. CHASE,
Reelected Social Democratic Mayor of Haverhill, Mass.

present. State organization was reported in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. The sections numbered 200. Charles H. Matchett was nominated for the presidency and Mathew Maguire for the vice presidency, and a platform adopted. Perhaps the most notable piece of legislation undertaken by the convention, in the light of subsequent developments, was the endorsement of the newly started Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. This was done by resolution which declared among other things that the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. had "fallen hopelessly into the hands of dishonest and ignorant leaders." It is doubtful if any of the seventy-one members who voted for this measure realized the injury it was destined to work to Socialist propaganda or to the standing of the S. L. P. among American workingmen. This new trade organization was started by Daniel DeLeon, after he had failed to control the Knights of Labor. Following the New York convention the leaders of the S. L. P. began an indiscriminate campaign of villification against non-Socialist labor leaders, which grew in bitterness year by year, and made enemies for Socialism of many well-meaning laboring men.

The unattached, or independent socialists remained with the Peoples party up to the time of its national convention at St. Louis in 1896. When that convention threw over its Socialistic leanings and came out for the free silver craze, the Socialists gave up hope of carrying on further propaganda within the party, and severed their connection with it. One of the delegates to the St. Louis convention was Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, who helped straightway to organize a boom there for Mr. Debs for President. The Chicago convention of the Democratic party had come out for free silver and nominated Bryan and the plutocratic Sewell. The Populists were willing to endorse Bryan, but they could not go Sewell. The middle-of-the-road men succeeded in reversing the order of nominations so that a candidate for Vice President was

selected first, Sewell was "rolled" and Thos. E. Watson of Georgia chosen. Meantime the Debs forces worked like beavers. They secured 412 written pledges out of a total of 1,300 delegates, and Congressman Howard agreed to make the nomination speech. It was even claimed by a local paper that twenty-two states were in line for Debs, with sixteen of them pledged. On the evening on which it was expected a nomination would be made, Debs stock was high, and the Bryan shouters began to talk compromise. Mr. Debs' forces were asked if they would be satisfied with second place on the ticket. There is no knowing what might have happened but for a trick of the Bryanites who turned off the gas and forced an adjournment till morning. In the morning Henry D. Lloyd read a telegram to the convention from Mr. Debs, (who had all along insisted that he did not want a nomination), asking that his name be withdrawn. Bryan was then nominated.

In the 1896 Presidential election, the S. L. P. candidates Matchett and Maguire, polled 36,564 votes, among these being the ballots of the independent Socialists.

CHAPTER 7.—SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Social Democracy is but another term for democratic Socialism. In this sketch of the development of the Socialist movement in America, we have seen first the Utopian forms of Socialism, Communistic Socialism, and finally, in the Socialist Labor Party, a kind of Socialism, or rather of Socialistic propaganda, in which a hierarchy ruled, and which, besides heresy-hunting among its own members, instinctively stood for a Socialist state in which the administration of affairs would, to say the least, be bureaucratic. Such an administration would be quite apt to develop into a despotism. Presented in such a spirit, Socialism had little attraction for the Yankee lover of freedom, and so it had to make

way historically for a truly democratic type—for a party standing for social democracy. The party which had this mission to perform was formed during 1897, reconstructed the following year, and is to-day the leading Socialist party of the United States, while the Socialist Labor Party, autocratic and boss-ridden, is split in twain and poisoned unto death by its own virus. Its mission is past and its demise will not be mourned.

On January 2, 1897, Eugene V. Debs issued a card to the Associated Press, announcing his conversion to Socialism, and his conviction that, apart from political action, trade unionism was inadequate to accomplish the emancipation of the working class. He showed the fallacy of free silver or mere money reform, and said that the issue was between Capitalism and Socialism, and that from thenceforth his labors would be in the Socialist ranks. This practically committed the A. R. U. to Socialism. Mr. Debs, however, did not join the S. L. P., but was in correspondence with several independent Socialists who believed the S. L. P. too hopelessly narrow and boss-ridden to ever achieve success in the United States, and who tried to enlist his sympathy toward starting a new clear-cut party, standing for democratic rather than autocratic Socialism. For the time being nothing came of these negotiations.

These independent Socialists were stronger and more active in Milwaukee than anywhere else, were locally organized into a Social Demokratischer Verein, and had the added strength of a daily Socialist newspaper in the German language, edited by Victor L. Berger. This paper, the "Vorwaerts," had the distinction of being the oldest established Socialist daily in the United States, but had in its earlier days weathered brief periods of suspended animation and on two occasions a change of name. The Milwaukee independents had kept up their organization for years, successfully standing the onslaught of the S. L. P. and confidently expecting that the time must soon come when a national Ameri-

can party, having like aims, would make its appearance and crowd the unworthy S. L. P. from the field. The verein was made up in part of old S. L. P. men, and they were most of them not only trade unionists, but leaders in their respective unions. Among them were the editor of the "Vorwaerts," John Doerfler, Jacob Hunger, Joseph Roesch, who had been a personal convert of Weitling, George Moerschall, Charles Dipple, Ernest Kuehnle and others. Latterly they made up a wing of the local Peoples party, not as Populists, but as recognized Socialists. In this way they made propaganda and made some valuable converts.

At about this time a Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth was organized through the "Coming Nation" and Mr. Debs was made its organizer. It had a rather Utopian scheme of planting colonies in some western state with a view to the political capture of the state. The members of the A. R. U. finally decided to merge that organization into the B. of the C. C., and a convention of the two was called at Chicago, June 18, 1897.

The denouement was quite unexpected to the rank and file of both the A. R. U. and the B. of the C. C., for it was nothing less than the launching of a national political, Socialist party, with the colonization scheme relegated to the rear. This was the result of work on the part of several scientific Socialists, headed by Victor L. Berger. The work of perfecting the organization was done in a committee which met evenings, during the convention, at McCoy's hotel. In this committee, besides Messrs. Debs, Keliher and the A. R. U. officers, were Victor L. Berger, Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedman, Charles R. Martin and Frederic Heath. Messrs. Berger and Heath, owing to business demands, were forced to be at their home, Milwaukee, during the day time, and so made the trip to Chicago every evening during the week, and returning on an early train each morning—a round trip of some 170 miles.

A clear cut Socialistic platform and constitution were



THE REV. FREDERIC O. McCARTNEY,
Social Democratic member of the Massachusetts Legislature.

adopted and these were promptly accepted by the convention. The national executive board chosen was composed of the old A. R. U. officers: E. V. Debs, James Hogan, Sylvester Kelihier, R. M. Goodwin and Wm. E. Burns—"the five prisoners of Woodstock." Headquarters were established at 504 Trude building in Chicago, and Mr. Debs' old "Railway Times" removed thither and re-christened "The Social Democrat." The first issue appeared July 15th, in four-page form, six columns to the page. During this time the Capitalist press had been rather friendly to the movement, mistaking its true significance. The colonization plan, which was supposed to be the main object, was looked on with favor; for Capitalism, unable itself to deal with its most embarrassing class of victims, the unemployed, would be pleased, indeed, to have that class enticed away to some colony in the wilderness, thus being relieved of the burden of its support. But a concerted march to the polls by the proletariat was quite a different matter, and the newspapers soon changed their attitude to one of apprehension and attack.

The Social Democracy began at once a vigorous campaign, being badgered in various ways by the less orderly members of the S. L. P. Mr. Debs made his first speech for the new party at Milwaukee July 7. He had a monster audience, and a few evenings later the first Wisconsin branch was formed. But loud calls were now coming from the great miners' strike at West Virginia, and he hurried to the coal fields and gave the strikers the benefit of his counsel. While speaking bare-headed at noonday near a mining camp, he was overcome by the heat, the effects of his sunstroke being with him all summer, and obliging him to cancel various engagements. The other members of the executive board visited various parts of the country on organizing tours and made good headway.

The "Social Democrat" appeared promptly each week. The first issue contained congratulations from the veteran

labor leader, John Swinton, from Laurence Gronlund, and also from a committee of St. Louis ministers headed by H. G. Vrooman. The second issue announced the formation of branches in sixteen states and also the conversion of the North Side Populist Club of New York City, which joined in a body. All over the country, well known Socialists who had not been able to agree with the tactics and spirit of the S. L. P., took up the cause of the new party, and in New York an entire Jewish district organization of the S. L. P. voted to join outright.

The third number announced the appointment of the colonization commission; the appointees being Richard J. Hinton, of Washington, D. C., W. P. Borland of Michigan, and Cyrus F. Willard of Boston. The colonization scheme now became a bone of contention, a good many members being decidedly opposed to it. This feeling grew as the importance of the colonization feature increased in the party work and it was evident that it would sooner or later lead to almost open rupture. One phase of it was peculiarly distressing. It gave Anarchists an opportunity to take active part in the party work and to voice their sentiments at meetings and in the party press. Thus, shortly after the party was established, Johann Most, in his "Freiheit" advised his readers to join, and other Anarchist papers also appeared friendly. And so the colonization scheme was approved by the Utopian Socialists and the Communistic Anarchists within the party, and opposed by the scientific Socialists. The colonization commission itself increased the feeling by ignoring the party's recorded intention and went about the country examining various properties. Among the places it visited were Tennessee, Colorado, New York, Washington and Idaho. At one time it had even offered to undertake the building of a railroad in Kentucky.

In its attitude toward the organized labor movement the party was at all times consistent. At a Labor conference, held at St. Louis, to discuss the miners' strike, in the latter

part of August, members of the party took a leading part, Mr. Debs being one of the signers of the call, and the resolutions passed by the body being drafted by two members of the party, Victor L. Berger and G. C. Clemens, of Kansas. In the fall of the year Mr. Debs made a tour of the East, holding big meetings everywhere. In January he went through the South. In March Messrs. Debs and Keliher went together through the East and one of the results of the tour was the decision of two large sections at Haverhill, Mass., to join the Social Democracy. With them came James F. Carey, whom they had previously elected to the city council.

In February the Social Democracy began its first political battle. At Milwaukee, which was one of its strongholds, a convention was held on February 1, and a complete city ticket nominated. It was headed by Robert Meister, a machinist, as candidate for mayor, and a strong local platform was adopted. The Milwaukee campaign, which was vigorously waged, was looked on with great interest by the members of the party, who helped in such ways as was possible. The labor unions assisted in the campaign and it was partially through their contributions that the local managers were able to bring Paul Grottkau from California to make addresses in German. His telling speeches were a feature of the canvass. Addresses in English were made by Mr. Debs, Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedman and others. When the votes were counted it was found that the Social Democracy had cast over 2,500 votes, while the long-established S. L. P. only managed to get 423 into the ballot boxes.

At Sheboygan, Wis., the Social Democracy elected two aldermen, Fred Haack in the fifth ward, on a vote of 171, and Oscar Mohr in the seventh ward, on a vote of 106. In Richmond, Ind., where a ticket was also put up, the candidate for mayor received 89 votes.

The elections over, attention was again attracted to the party's incubus, the colonization plan, and as the date of the June convention of the party approached, the feeling against

it was more marked and outspoken. Utopian and fantastic, the colony idea drew support from gullible people from all classes and no trouble was experienced in getting contributions for it. It appealed to the romantic instinct and Robert Owen himself could not have enlisted people any more readily. By March the colony fund reached \$1,419.01. In April it was \$2,289.38. All this time the commission was moving about mysteriously. Finally, in May, it announced that the party would establish colonies in Tennessee, Washington, and Colorado, as a part of a gigantic plan to be announced in the future. Just before the convention, word was given out that the colony would be established in Colorado, in the Cripple Creek region. The commission had been caught by a gold-brick promoter! At about the same time it was announced in the "Social Democrat" that Secretary Willard had gone to Denver and closed a contract by which the party was to get 560 acres, on which was a gold mine of "the deeper you go, the richer the ore" variety! He had arranged to pay \$3,000 in sixty days, \$2,000 in ninety days, and to give the owners \$95,000 in 5 per cent bonds, and for the balance to issue \$200,000 in first mortgage bonds; those of the owners to be a part thereof. "Then if we sold the entire amount of bonds," said the commission, "we would have \$100,00 after paying for the property, and could use, say \$25,000, to develop the mine, and the balance to establish the colony. Who will get bond No. 1?" (!)

The national convention was opened Tuesday morning, June 7th, at 9 o'clock, in Uhlich's hall on North Clark street, Chicago. This is an historic hall, having been the birth place of the A. R. U., as well as the place in which the great railway strike of 1894 was declared. There were 70 delegates, representing 94 branches, present. Chairman Debs presided. Outwardly the meeting presented a picture of a pleasing and harmonious gathering, creditable to the Socialist movement. Under the surface, however, there was a hostility that meant almost certain rupture. The presence of such well-known



WINFIELD P. PORTER.

Anarchists as Mrs Lucy Parsons, wife of one of the victims of the outrageous Haymarket trial, Emma Goldman, the common-law wife of Berkman, who shot Manager Frick at the time of the Homestead strike, and others, all enlisted under the colonization wing, the members of which were now using the phrases of the Anarchists at sneering at political action, showed that a parting of the ways must come. It rapidly developed that the colonization forces had organized to get control of the convention and had even gone to the length of hastily organizing local "branches on paper" within three days before the convention, in order to increase its list of delegates and make its control a certainty. These branches had been organized by William Burns and the other members of the national board, with the exception of Messrs. Debs and Keliher. When the convention had come to order, and after a credential committee had been elected, consisting of J. Finn of Chicago, J. C. DeArmand of Colorado, and W. L. Johnson of Kansas, Secretary Keliher announced to the convention that eleven branches in Chicago had been organized under such suspicious circumstances that he had withheld charters from them, preferring that the matter be dealt with by the convention itself. He was convinced, he said, that they were organized solely for the purpose of packing the convention, and that they had no existence in fact. This caused some turbulence and when the credential committee reported in favor of admitting the "fake" branches, the excitement increased, the debate lasting all day. In the evening the majority of the national board met and granted charters to the eight branches, the delegates of which were seated next morning.

A committee on rules was elected, consisting of C. F. Willard of Chicago, Isaiah Frank of New York and Frederic Heath of Milwaukee. The other committees were as follows: On resolutions—Frederic Heath of Milwaukee, A. S. Edwards of Ruskin, Tennessee, and J. S. Ingalls of Chicago.

On constitution—Isaiah Frank of New York, L. L. Hopkins of New Jersey and W. P. Borland of Michigan. On ways and means—F. G. R. Gordon of New Hampshire, George Koop of Chicago and Jacob Hunger of Milwaukee. On organized labor—G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis, Hugo Miller of Indianapolis and Joseph Barondess of New York. On officers reports—Wm. Butscher of New York, T. Phillips of New York and Anna Ferry Smith of California. On platform—John F. Lloyd, Victor L. Berger and Margaret Haile. Auditing—W. Winchevsky of New York, J. Grundy of Pittsburg and Seymour Stedman of Chicago. President Debs, Margaret Haile and C. F. Willard were appointed to draft resolutions on the death of Edward Bellamy, to be telegraphed to a memorial meeting being held in Boston. The message sent was as follows:

“The first national convention of the Social Democracy of America pays tribute to the memory of Edward Bellamy, first to popularize the ideas of Socialism among his countrymen and last to be forgotten by them.”

At the close of the second day when scarcely anything had been done, save talk, it became apparent that the “gold brick” faction, as it was called, was trying to prolong discussion so that those from a distance would have to leave before the convention was concluded. This would give them a clear coast, as their strength was mainly local and made up in no small part by Chicago Anarchists who had come in by means of the “fake” locals. More and more it dawned on the Socialists that they were pitted against a conspiracy that would hesitate at no desperate move to maintain its supremacy. On the third day, Thursday, National Committeeman Hogan made sweeping charges against Secretary Keliher, evidently with the intention of prolonging the “do-nothing” tactics. The charges were afterward found to have no foundation in fact.

C. F. Willard read the report of the Colonization Commission and the facts it presented only increased the determina-

tion of the antis to sever all connection and responsibility with the affair. To put it mildly, they felt that the party had been engaged in securing money on false pretenses. In the evening the antis held a caucus and resolved to fight colonization uncompromisingly.

During the early hours of Thursday Chairman Debs made his report. It showed that on his Eastern tours he had addressed 143 public meetings in seventy-seven days. Secretary Keliher's report showed that the total receipts for the year were \$8,965.88. Disbursements, \$8,894.44.

On Friday afternoon the committee on platform reported, Committeeman Lloyd submitting a minority report in the interests of the "goldbrick" faction. A protracted and animated debate followed. The feeling ran high. The anti-colonization people were incensed at the way in which the time of the convention had been frittered away, and were, moreover, without hope of wresting the control from the hands of their opponents. It was finally decided to debate the platforms to a finish and then permit a vote upon them. Afterwards they would quietly abandon the convention and organize a new party. The debate lasted until 2:30 o'clock in the morning, and a vote was then taken on the minority report. It resulted in 53 for and 37 against. There was an exultant yell from the "goldbrick" faction, but their joy turned to uneasiness when those of the opposition were seen quietly leaving the hall after a motion to adjourn had been carried.

Across North Clark street was the Revere house, where most of the delegates stayed, and where the anti-colonization faction had held its caucus the evening before. Thither they went and soon assembled in Parlor A. A strange coincidence it was, but it was in this very room that the jury that hung the Anarchists came to their blood-thirsty decision! It was a sort of retribution which made that room also the birthplace of the coming great national party of Revolutionary Socialism. Every one present was



W. E. FARMER.

alive to the importance of the step, and the proceedings were carried on with despatch and in as subdued voices as possible, so as not to disturb the guests of the hotel. Frederic Heath was made chairman and F. G. R. Gordon secretary. The platform reported by the majority of the committee in the Uhlich hall convention was adopted, the name "Social Democratic Party of America" chosen, a temporary national committee, composed of those present, constituted, and an address to the membership of the Social Democracy ordered prepared. The meeting adjourned at 4 o'clock, just as the rays of a bright sunrise began to bathe the window panes.

Later in the day the delegates reconvened at Hull House, on South Halsted street. Jesse Cox presided and William Mailly acted as secretary. The following national executive board was elected: Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedman, Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger and Frederic Heath. Resolutions on the death of Edward Bellamy and Paul Grottkau were passed and the resolutions on organized labor, drafted by Messrs. Hoehn, Miller and Barondess, re-enacted. A. S. Edwards was made national organizer and Jacob Winnen made a tender of the affiliation of the Social Democratic Federation, which was favorably listened to and the members received into full membership.

Shortly after the convention, the national board met in Chicago and revised the platform. A constitution was prepared and an address drawn up. This latter, which stated the facts regarding the split, was mailed to all members of the old Social Democracy. The circular also announced the opening of headquarters in Chicago and the appointment of Theodore Debs as national secretary and treasurer. The motto of the party was stated as: Pure Socialism and no compromise.

Meantime those left in the Uhlich hall convention adopted the Lloyd platform and elected the following National committee: James Hogan, W. P. Borland, R. M. Goodwin, John F. Lloyd, L. L. Hopkins, I. Frank, C. F. Willard, R. J. Hin-

ton and G. C. Clemens. They became a colonization party, pure and simple. Being in possession of the National headquarters and the official organ they were able to make a showing for a few weeks, but the fact that their strength was local soon began to tell, and with the third issue under their charge the "Social Democrat" succumbed. A fourth issue was in type, but the printer demanded cash in advance. Their only hope was to actually colonize. In August Messrs. Willard and Ingalls went prospecting and finally found a location at the head of Henderson Bay in the State of Washington. A number of members began the pioneer work and in time a colony was in full swing, nourished and cheered by money paid in by non-resident members for the purchase of shares. The colony is still in existence, with 110 members, and a little paper, the "Co-operator" is published each week. In the state of Washington, also, is the Equality colony of the old Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is located at Edison, and has had a hard time of it. N. W. Lermond, its leading spirit, is no longer with it. Its members live in log houses, and have not had time thus far to even think of the old dream of capturing the state of Washington through the ballot.

On July 9, the Social Democratic party issued the first number of the "Social Democratic Herald." It was of four pages, four columns to the page. A. S. Edwards was editor. The third issue announced the selection of a national headquarters at Room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago, directly opposite the city hall. The paper was issued under the most trying circumstances, the split having disheartened many Socialists, so that the party grew very slowly. It was not until fully a year after that real headway began to be made, outside of a few party strongholds like Massachusetts, Milwaukee and St. Louis. In November the place of publication of the paper was changed to Belleville, Ill., as a measure of economy. It remained there until June of the following year (1899), when it was brought back to Chicago

and issued in larger page form—five columns instead of four.

In spite of the set-back the movement had received, the party went into the fall campaign at several points. In Wisconsin a full state ticket, headed by Howard Tuttle of Milwaukee, for governor, was nominated. The Massachusetts members nominated Winfield P. Porter of Newburyport. In New Hampshire, Sumner F. Clafin was at the head of the ticket. Nominations were made in five assembly districts in New York. Missouri nominated Albert E. Sanderson for judge of the supreme court and made several congressional nominations, and a local ticket was put up at Terre Haute, Ind.

In its issue of Saturday, November 12, the "Herald" brought the glad tidings of victory in Massachusetts—the election of two members of the state legislature from the Haverhill district: James F. Carey and Lewis M. Scates. Mr. Debs had helped in the campaign there and had had a record-breaking meeting, with an overflow. The party made a good showing in the other states where there were candidates. In Wisconsin it had more than twice as many votes as the S. L. P., and the same was the case in St. Louis, a former S. L. P. stronghold.

Scarcely had the joy over the Massachusetts victory died away than that state presented the party with another surprise. On December 6th the Social Democrats of Haverhill succeeded in electing John C. Chase, mayor; Charles H. Bradley and J. W. Bean, aldermen; Joseph Bellefeuille, James W. Hillsgrove and Albert L. Gillen, councilmen; Newman W. Wasson, school commissioner; and Frank S. Reed, assistant assessor.

In December, members of the Social Democratic party created quite a stir by making Socialism an issue at the convention at Kansas City of the American Federation of Labor. The trades unions of England had come out for Socialism as the wage workers' only hope, and while there was no rea-

**MARGARET HAILE.**

son to believe that success could be had all at once in the A. F. of L. owing to the old party predilections of certain of its most influential leaders, yet a beginning could be made—in fact a beginning had been made in former of the federation conventions. Among those who went to Kansas City were James F. Carey of Haverhill, Wm. Mahon of Detroit, John Tobin of Boston, Victor L. Berger and Seymour Stedman. The S. L. P. was represented among others by editor Max Hayes of Cleveland. The result was that an interesting debate was precipitated which was duly telegraphed to the daily papers all over the country and which caused a good deal of talk in union circles. The vote taken showed more strength than the Socialists were supposed to have in the body—493 for the Socialistic resolution to 1,971 against.

In the spring election of 1899, a local ticket was put up in Chicago, with Thos. G. Kerwin at the head. At Spring Valley, Ill., the Socialist miners also put up a local ticket. Their candidate for mayor was James Beattie. At Pacific, Wis., a local ticket was nominated, and nominations were also made at St. Louis and Baltimore. And out of this came a victory, too, the party ticket at Pacific making a clean sweep.

In June, 1899, the Socialist Party of America, an independent organization having headquarters in Texas, officially joined the Social Democratic party, as the result of a conference held between its president, W. E. Farmer of Bonham, Texas, the members of its executive board, and Mr. Debs, who was in the South on a lecture tour.

During June the S. L. P., which had long been filled with internal dissention, experienced a split of the most disintegrating sort. Two factions were warring for the mastery in New York city, where the national executive committee was located. One was led by DeLeon, Sanial and Hugo Vogt, and the other by the proprietors of the New York "Volkszeitung." The despotic sway of DeLeon had not been relished and bad feeling existed all over the country. Some

were jealous of it, others were disgusted by it. Of these latter was Eugene Dietzgen of Chicago, whose father, Joseph Deitzgen had been a compatriot with Karl Marx. Dietzgen saw how DeLeonism was perverting the movement and rebelled against it. He had been friendly to the Social Democratic party, and this was made a pretext by some of DeLeon's henchmen in Chicago to prefer charges and to ultimately expel him. He issued a pamphlet in March against DeLeonism under the title "Leze Majesty and Treason to the 'Fakirs' in the Socialist Labor Party," and sent it to every section of the party in the country. This, in conjunction with a weekly onslaught on DeLeonism which Wayland's "Appeal to Reason" was making in the interests of a united socialist movement, had some effect.

At a meeting of the general committee of Section Greater New York, at the Labor Lyceum on East Fourth street, held on the evening of July 8, a pitched battle took place. It was the first meeting after the semi-annual election of new delegates, and the DeLeon faction had discovered that a majority of the new committeemen were hostile to it. It was therefore on its guard. The DeLeonites controlled the National Executive Committee of the party, a committee which the other side intended to depose in a summary manner. The meeting had scarcely begun before the two factions came to blows. The following from the account of one of the eyewitnesses will give some idea of the scene that followed: "This act of violence on the part of Kcep was the signal for an outburst of passion seldom witnessed in any political meeting, much less in a meeting of Socialists. The delegates pummelled each other until blood was seen flowing from many wounds. Men were sprawling upon the floor, others were fighting in the corners, upon the tables, chairs, and upon the piano, Hugo Vogt having climbed upon the latter, yelling and fairly foaming from the mouth," etc. Finally the DeLeon contingent withdrew. On Monday evening, July 10, another fight took place. The "Volkszeit-

ung" faction had held a meeting, deposed the National committee and elected one in its stead. A committee was sent to the office of the "People" to demand the party property. They attempted to force their way in and were repulsed by DeLeon and others, who were in possession, with clubs, bottles and other weapons. The police were called in and obliged the intruders to retire. In the morning, still under police protection, the DeLeon people removed the office effects to another location which they had rented. As a result of the split, two S. L. P.s took the place of one. Each faction issued a weekly "People," and printed many columns of denunciation of the other side. Throughout the country the small party bosses in the main took sides with DeLeon, while the strength of the "Volkszeitung" faction came from San Francisco, Chicago and Philadelphia. Many sections, disgusted with the turn affairs had taken, joined the Social Democratic party outright. The quarrel in New York soon got into the courts, where the DeLeon party was given official recognition. The same was true in Massachusetts and other states, and the other faction was thus left in a bad plight. In their dilemma the rank and file turned to the Social Democratic party, making overtures, which at the present time, seem to indicate a coming together of the two bodies under the S. D. P. banner within a few months, provided the leaders still hold out.

During the Spring of 1899 the so-called "farmers' program" in the platform of the Social Democratic party, was the subject of considerable debate. Socialists whose Socialism was static rather than dynamic, charged that this part of the platform was reactionary. Those who supported it held that concentration was not taking place in the rural districts as the early fathers of the Socialist movement had predicted and that this fact had to be reckoned with if the party wished to show itself scientific. The fact that the S. L. P. singled out that part of the platform for attack and ridicule had its

effect, however, and finally at a party conference held in Chicago July 6, it was decided to eliminate the farmer demands subject to referendum vote of the party. This vote, which was afterward taken, sustained the action of the conference. This conference, which was called by the national executive board, also fixed on the first Tuesday in March, 1900, as the time for the party convention for the choosing of nominees for the national campaign, and Indianapolis was chosen as the convention seat.

The national board held monthly meetings in Chicago during the year. One of its notable acts was the appointment of Eugene Dietzgen (who had meantime become a



BROCKTON SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BAND

member of the party) as the party delegate to the International Socialist congress to be held at Paris in 1900. Mr. Dietzgen left for Europe soon after with the intention of remaining until the congress. In October the national board passed adversely upon the action of the branches of the party in New York city in affiliating with a newly organ-

ized Independent Labor party, which grew out of the Brooklyn trolley strike. It was found that the I. L. P. was not only not a class-conscious party, but also that it was being controlled by capitalistic politicians. The branches were reminded of the constitutional provision against fusion with any other party and ordered to withdraw from the compact, which was done, the party candidates being also withdrawn. For this reason the party was not represented in the Fall election in New York.

New courage came to the party in 1899 in the November and December elections. There was an increased vote at all points where tickets were put up, and in Massachusetts James F. Carey was reelected to the legislature from the Haverhill district and Frederic O. McCartney from the Plymouth district. In the local elections in December John C. Chase was reelected mayor of Haverhill over a combination of Republicans and Democrats—in short, the battle was between Socialism and Capitalism—and the party maintained its position in the city council. At Brockton, C. H. Coulter, one of the hardest working Social Democrats in Massachusetts, was elected mayor with 1,500 plurality, two aldermen being also elected.

We have traced the history of Socialism in America from its earlier phases, down through the years until we now see it clarified and resolute and ready for the great political battle of 1900. It is already in the first flush of victory, it being only in recent years that the Socialists have been able to elect any of their candidates. The times are changing, the need of Socialism is every day more and more apparent and the people themselves are beginning to understand it as it really is, and therefore to want it. The movement is now entirely native to the soil. Nothing can prevent it from "making history" in the years that are just before us.



ALBERT BRISBANE,
America's First Socialist Agitator.

THE FIRST AMERICAN AGITATOR.

Albert Brisbane was the first native American to become a Socialist agitator. Socialism was his ruling passion and he consecrated his active years to propaganda efforts that never knew discouragement or quailed at the assaults of calumny and ignorant prejudice. He was an enthusiast, but a steady-going one; a man with a high mission. Robert Owen told the people of England in 1845 that Brisbane was America's greatest orator, and his strength in speaking came from the purity of his motives and the grandeur of the ideal he sought to communicate. Of course a Socialist of that early pre-Marxian day was not precisely the same as a Socialist of today, for the science was not then so developed as now, but the spirit was the same. In later years, when the Communistic manifesto of Marx and Engles had lighted up the situation confronting the dispossessed as never before, Brisbane, although his active work was over, gave it his endorsement.

Brisbane was above the necessity of earning his own living and it was a contemplation of this fact that led him into social science and a career devoted to the effort to overthrow the capitalistic system of exploitation. His first awakening came in this wise:

"Who pays for all I have? My father. But where does he get the money? From the farmers of Genessee county. Does my father work to produce what he gets? No, he owns land and other property from which he derives an income. That income comes out of the labor of the farmers and the working classes. It is they, then, who are in reality paying for what I have! Do I give an equivalent? No. Then I get their labor for nothing." The idea of this injustice shaped his future career. This was but one of his many self-accusations. His was the natural Socialistic bent of mind. In speaking of the above incident, he says:

"The idea of this injustice struck me. I pondered over it and although at the time it led to no serious ulterior reflec-

tions, it was deeply impressed on my mind that a certain class in society lived on the labor of the masses. . . .

Brisbane was born in 1809, at Batavia, N. Y. His father was a Quaker of Scotch descent, who grew to be a skeptic. His mother was English. At the age of 19 young Brisbane went to Europe to complete his studies, going first to France. In May, 1829, he went to Berlin, his visit being notable for a call on the poet Goethe. Among others in Berlin whose acquaintance he made was Frau Varnhagen von Ense, the subject of the "Memoirs of Rahel." She was of brilliant and independent mind, and had rare social qualities. Her scathing criticisms of the shams and pretensions of society awakened great interest in Brisbane, his mother having been critical in a similar way. They became great friends. She was a radical and an innovator.

He also visited frequently of evenings at the home of Joseph Mendelssohn; which was a literary gathering place, and there frequently met the great philosopher, Hegel. Hegel was then about 60 years old, nearly 6 feet high and portly. Brisbane attended Hegel's lectures all one winter. He afterward traveled extensively and on returning to Paris found an old Berlin fellow-student, Jules Lechevalier, who was now enlisted in the St. Simonian movement, then in full flower. After the July revolution a body of young and energetic men in France had begun the open and zealous propagation of the St. Simonian doctrines, had bought a daily paper, "Le Globe," and had set a vigorous propaganda on foot.

"To this energetic propagation," says Brisbane in his autobiography, "is due the gigantic social movement that is now going on all over the world. Thus we see how in individual and national affairs an idea or an event may decide destinies." The paper was put about at all points of vantage and eagerly read. Missionaries were sent out all over France, Lechevalier being one of them. *Enfantin* and *Bazard* were at the head of the society. Brisbane entered into it, declaring his belief that their principles were fundamentally true, and his con-

viction "that a great social revolution must take place; . . . fragmentary reform cannot alleviate the miseries of humanity." He was, however, a severe critic of the St. Simonian religion, as it was derisively called, in its entirety. At their meetings he met the great poet, Heine. The latter was a man of small stature, wiry and thin, with a swarthy face and very black hair. He was sarcastic and analytical, and also reserved. He had not then won renown. He and Brisbane criticized St. Simon alike. Brisbane also met Liszt at the meetings. Brisbane not being able to wholly support the principles finally concluded to go to England.

Gradually he got back to Berlin. It was there he chanced upon a book of Fourier's. He was charmed and overwhelmed by it. It held him captive and thus was begun his future career as an associationist.

During this time, however, he took *LeGlobe* and placed it in the principal coffee-house of the city. It created no little interest and was read for some time before the police became aware of it and suppressed it. This act on Brisbane's part was one most pregnant of results. At a later time he was told by a resident of that city: "Do you remember '*LeGlobe*' which you put in Stehle's coffee-house, and which remained there for a few months before it was suppressed by the police? And of course you remember the discussions and controversies going on at that time at Varnhagen's? Well, that paper and those discussions were the commencement of the Social movement in Germany. Some men in Silecia read that paper; ardent converts were made—among others *Wilhelm Weitling*, a tailor—who going back to their native places began to spread the ideas among the operatives of the manufacturing towns; and this gave rise to a popular conception of communism which spread throughout the whole region, out of this has come the great Socialist movement of Germany." How little Brisbane had dreamed of the value of his agitation at the moment!

While in Berlin the police kept close watch of Brisbane,

at first without his knowledge. In May, 1832, he left that city for Paris, anxious to meet Fourier in person. A circle of Fourierists had been formed and a paper, "*La Reforme Industrielle*," started, with an office at No. 5 Rue Joquelet. Brisbane there met his old friend Lechevalier, who on the disruption of the St. Simonian Society had joined the Fourier movement, and who took him in to an inner office and introduced him to Fourier. "I found a man about 60 years of age," Brisbane says, "of medium height, slenderly built, though broad across the shoulders. . . . He had much the physiognomy of Dante. It was more massive, with less of that Italian delicacy which we see in the poet. . . . Fourier had a large grey eye, the pupil of which was so small that it seemed a mere pin point. This gave great intensity to his look. The nose was rather aquiline, and the corners of the large mouth curved downward—the lion mouth. This, with a strong, firm chin, completed a fixed, abstract, settled expression of countenance. The head was remarkably round, almost a sphere; the brow large, slightly retreating, formed a regular arch. The ensemble of the face expressed great intensity; and I may remark here that during the subsequent three years of my association with Fourier I never saw him smile."

Brisbane took private lessons from him in his theories twice a week—twelve in all—paying five francs a lesson. Fourier was not in affluent circumstances, the fortune he had inherited when young was lost in the French Revolution. When his father died he had invested in colonial products. When the city of Lyons was besieged, his goods were confiscated and he was drafted into the army. He served through the terrible drama and just escaped being numbered among its victims. It was this experience that turned his mind to social science.

Brisbane returned to the United States in the spring of 1834. His health was poor, with symptoms of nervous prostration. Four years were devoted to recuperation, in anticipation of beginning the great work of his life.

In 1838-39 his work of agitation for Fourierism was well under way. He secured quite a band of earnest adherents and rented a large room on Broadway near Canal which was an organizing center, and where lectures and discussions were held. In 1839 he got out his first book: "Brisbane on Association." In preparing the book he got an editor, Parke Benjamin, to go over the proof sheets and Benjamin suggested in rather facetious language that probably a man like Horace Greeley would be "just damned fool enough to believe such nonsense." Greeley was then a young man editing the weekly "New Yorker," in a little room up a long flight of stairs in the building they were at that time in. Off went Brisbane to hunt up Greeley. Greeley said he was too busy to read a book, but finally consented, as he was going to Boston that night, to take the book along and glance through it. Greeley returned to New York an enthusiastic convert. Together they got out a prospectus of a weekly called "The Future," and sent out a circular in the form of a first number, all over the country. Brisbane had run the paper about two months when Greeley opened his weekly to the idea, and promised to give space to it in a prospective daily which he was about to found.

When the "Tribune" appeared therefore and made a big success, the "Future" was dropped, and Greeley gave Brisbane a column each day to promulgate his ideas in. Thus was spread broadcast the ideas of Fourierism, and adherents were gained on all sides, especially among the laboring and farmer classes. The times were then bad, the country being in one of its periodical crises, so that the propaganda was undertaken at an opportune moment. A friend of Brisbane's, a journalist named John Moore, started a small daily paper called the "Chronicle," and Brisbane offered to edit the paper if he were given a city editor. The bargain was closed and in four months the circulation was run up to 4,000. The paper was devoted to new ideas and was fearless and free. It was sharply critical and soon had many wordy duels

on its hands, some of which became bitter and afterward regrettable from the point of view of the success of the propaganda. Besides this Brisbane contributed constantly to various papers. In speaking of his motives in it all, and after giving his general aims, etc., he says: "To me *personal* success was nothing. The ambitions of the men around me seemed small; the fierce struggles then going on for partial reform, like temperance and abolition, seemed to be fragmentary and secondary; the policies, the conflicts of parties for merely personal ends, for money, or for honors, seemed positively vile and degrading."

Brisbane was attacked freely in the press, and the enemies of Greeley saw their opportunity and used it. The new Socialism was painted as a thing vile and demoralizing, and Brisbane found himself in a conflict that threatened to jeopardize the movement itself. To use his own words, he found himself "in worse than a forest of hornets' nests." Knowing the editors personally and in his simplicity believing their attacks to be due to honest convictions and misapprehensions he would call on them personally and endeavor to put the movement before them in its true light—with the only result that the attacks were more vehement than before. Finally, in exhaustion and dismay, he ceased trying to defend himself and from necessity accepted the character these malevolent spirits fastened on him.

But the propaganda meetings went on, not only in the cities but in the interiors, and the enthusiasm increased. Various motives brought people into the movement and these heterogeneous memberships soon began to find expression in actual communal experiments, until at least forty of these experiments were at work or on the way. "I was quite unprepared for this phase of the movement," writes Brisbane, "for I had contemplated years of patient, careful propagation before the means for a single association could be obtained." He counselled the most methodical preparations, but the groups were impatient, the principles seemed to them so simple that fail-

ure was scarcely dreamed of and Brisbane makes this apology for the short lived period of the actual experiments:

"They possessed, none of them, either adequate capital or adequate numbers; they did not take time, even, to perfect the material part of their organization—to put up buildings, to acquire the elements of an industrial system. etc. The result was: men and women brought together under very imperfect conditions; diversities of opinion and the discords consequent thereon were soon engendered and these little associations, after running through a brief existence, came to an inglorious end. The members separated, each going back to the isolated life from which he came. . . ." etc. But he must have seen sooner or later that society would never be revolutionized in any such way.

In his autobiography Brisbane is surprisingly silent with regard to these various experiments, although he must have visited a number of them and have had many recollections regarding them. Only cursorily he speaks of the North American phalanx at Red Bank, N. J., and generalizes to the extent of a page or two on Brook Farm.

In 1842 he visited Washington and there got into a heated general discussion with Calhoun, at the latter's place of residence, on general topics of government. Among other things Calhoun said was this: "With us the capitalist owns the laborer and his interest is that the laborer be well cared for. In the North the capitalist owns the instruments of labor, and he seeks to draw out of labor all the profits, leaving the laborer to shift for himself in old age and disease. This can only engender antagonism; the result will be hostility and conflict, ending in civil war, and the North may fall into a state of social dissolution." Commenting on this, Brisbane says: "I may now say that the prophecy of Calhoun regarding the dissolving movement of the great democracy of the North is being verified by the Socialist movement of to-day. What he foresaw then is coming about; labor and capital are arrayed against each other, and a battle is immi-

nent which will shake society to its very foundation, and in the end destroy the old economic system, causing a reconstruction on new principles. Calhoun looked forward to this social conflict with fear, but it will turn out to be a beneficent necessity; for if men have not the intelligence and philanthropy to establish justice on the earth, then it must come through blind intuition, through any means by which it can be accomplished—even revolutionary.”

Brisbane used to meet Garrison. He used to say to him: “Mr. Garrison, we have slaves in our kitchens, in our mines, and in our manufactories. What are we going to do for these slaves? The rich are living by their sweat and toil; our great capitalists here see young girls descendants in some degree, perhaps, of their own ancestors, working fourteen hours a day amid the din of machinery and the cotton filaments of a great manufactory where I would not stay for one hundred dollars an hour. But what I said produced little effect; his mind was too much engrossed in the vital question of the hour; he would reply: ‘Yes, it is very bad; it is horrible! That will be the next question that will come up.’”

The result of the Fourieristic failures in the United States drove Brisbane back to France, there to study the voluminous manuscripts left by Fourier, who died in 1837. There he threw himself into the Parisian Fourierite movement with the zest of past recollections. The Fourier MSS. were sacredly guarded and would have made five or six volumes of 500 pages each, if printed. He met many notables—Eugene Sue, who was tainted with Fourierism; Balzac; Lamennais; Rachel; Liszt, who was a St. Simonian; Victor Hugo. He returned to the United States in 1844. He found the country in bad condition from the panic and the Fourier experiments all “gone glimmering.” Society was again wholly made up of “miserable toilers on the one hand and greedy money-grabbers on the other.”

In 1846 he had completed a renewed and very thorough restudy of Fourier, with the added light of his copied manu-

scripts. In 1848 he went back to Europe. Louis Phillipe had been dethroned and he went to Paris to see the effect. He reached there June 23. An insurrection was just breaking out or was in fact at its height. It was a terrible affair with its barricades and its slaughter. Later, he left France and moved about the European countries. When he reached Begium he went to Cologne and there found a great popular agitation, a reflex of the French revolution.

"I found there Karl Marx, the leader of the popular movement. The writings of Marx on Labor and Capital and the Social theorist he then elaborated, have had more influence on the great Socialistic movement of Europe than that of any other man. He it was who laid the foundation of that modern collectivism which at present bids fair to become the leading Socialist doctrine of Europe. He was then just rising into prominence; a man of some thirty years, short, solidly built, with a fine face and bushy black hair. His expression was that of great energy, and behind his self-contained reserve of manner were visible the fire and passion of a resolute soul. Marx' supreme sentiment was a hatred of the power of capital, with its spoliations, its selfishness, and its subjection of the laboring classes."

"Briefly stated, as represented by the collectivism of today, his doctrine demands the abolition of individual ownership of the natural wealth of the world,—the soil, the mines, the inventions and creations of industry which are the means of production, as well as of the machinery of the world. This wealth, furnished by nature or created by the genius of humanity, is to be made collective property, held by the state (collectivity) for the equal advantage of the whole body of the people. Governments are to represent the collective intelligence of the nation; to manage, direct and supervise all general operations and relations of an industrial character, as they now manage the postal and telegraph system, the army and navy, the administration of justice. In England this idea of collective property is called the Nationalization of the

Land. In order to arrive at this system of collectivity the upper classes are to be expropriated. In the great revolution of 1789, say the Collectivists, the *bourgeoisie* expropriated the church and the aristocracy, taking their possessions themselves; they now possess the greater part of the wealth of France, once in the hands of the nobility and the clergy. Now it is the people's turn; the producing classes must expropriate the *bourgeoisie* and render its wealth collective wealth, administered by a collective intelligence in the interests of all."

"Marx did not advocate any integral scientific organization of industry . . . but he saw the fundamental falseness of our whole economic system; he saw the immense power accumulated wealth gave to the few who wielded it, and he saw how helpless labor was without combination, without unity of thought or action, and oppressed by the capitalists' oligarchy. He unfolded the radical falseness of this system, presenting it clearly to the minds of advanced thinkers, and out of this has grown the great movement now deeply agitating the progressive thought of Europe. The indications are that it is destined before long to revolutionize the whole economy of our civilization. It will introduce an entirely new order of society based on what we may call capitalist equality—the proprietary equality of humanity and the equality of industrial rights and privileges."

"As I remember that young man uttering his first words of protest against our economic system, I reflect how little it was imagined then that his theories would one day agitate the world and become an important lever in the overthrow of time-honored institutions. How little did the contemporaries of St. Paul imagine the influence which that simple mind would produce on the future of the world! Who could have supposed at that time that he was of more importance than the Roman senate or the reigning emperor—more even than all the emperors of Christendom to follow? In modern

times Karl Marx may have been as important in his way as was St. Paul in his."

Brisbane next went to Frankfort, meeting Froebel; then to Berlin, then to Vienna, then to Italy, then to France. He met Proudhon, under whose banner Lechevalier had enlisted; believing that Fourier would come also. The following year, 1849, Brisbane was expelled from France for making a speech. He returned to the United States.

His father died in 1851 involving him in business cares from which he had before been free. Brisbane himself died in this country in 1890.

A TRIP TO GIRARD.

I presume the Socialists of this great land of promise are as curious about Editor Wayland and his remarkable "Appeal to Reason," as I was, and so I will try to give them a squint at him in his native haunts, through my optics. When the idea of a year book for Social Democrats began to take shape, the Editor decided that one of the features must be a writeup of the sage of Girard. When the time came for the preparation of "copy" he posted me off double-quick for the purpose indicated.

Before I got my head again the cars had set me down in the little town of Girard, way down in the southeast portion of "Bleedin' Kansas." You may be sure I was glad to stretch my legs again after a ride across four states, but I forgot my fatigue in the feeling of romantic interest that stole over me as I gazed about in the modern Mecca of Socialism. I was on the tip-toe of expectancy, for within a few brief moments I would be clasping the hand of one of the greatest Socialist-makers this world of woe ever produced. The little brown depot was on the outskirts of the town, but I soon reached the business center—four streets enclosing a public

square with a court house in the center. I passed along one of these streets and soon found myself in front of a brick store building, without the wooden awning that was characteristic of most of the others. On the windows were the words, "Appeal to Reason," and as I passed inside I beheld a man seated at a typewriter just outside an inner office enclosed with glass. Let me describe the man, for it was none other than the "One Hoss Philosopher" himself. Tall, a trifle stoop-shouldered, complexion neither light or dark, smooth shaven with the exception of a rather close-cropped moustache, glasses, and what I cannot better describe than as a pleasant frown. About 45 years old and as vigorous as a boy.

Well, we became brother confessors at once. The paper for that week was printed and mailed and Wayland insisted that he had plenty of time to visit. He showed me over the plant, of which I will speak later. Then we sat down in his private office and talked Socialism and Social Democracy till dinner time. We talked of how it was going to come, among other things, and he said he felt that we would get public railroads and the like from the ballot, but that it seemed as if democracy's full habiliment must come through a cataclysm, with a reconstructive period after it. I asked him about his work on the "Appeal" and he said he wrote without effort, frequently grinding out the first page in a forenoon. He gets his inspiration from Ruskin, a set of whose works are at his elbow. "The Appeal editorials are simply Ruskin turned into the language of the common people," said he.

But the noon whistles were now blowing, and we started for the "farm." Wayland's farm covers about a half block of land at the outskirts of Girard. It is a farm in miniature, with a pasture, several rows of fruit trees, and a fine front yard, with the inevitable row of catalpas at the street front. The house is a large and homelike one, and there is a large barn with a chicken yard and a berry patch. After

dinner my host still insisted that he had plenty of time, and as he smoked his after-dinner cigar, he told me of how he came to be in the Socialist movement. I'll try to give it to you secondhand. Years ago (in 1891) he was a successful business man and property holder of Pueblo, Col. He was looked on as a hardheaded Republican. When he built a house he avoided union labor, and his mind was centered in profit-making. Besides owning some of the choicest real estate in the city he was a member of the largest printing establishment there. He was democratic in manner and on easy terms with all with whom he came in contact.

On his way to business each day he passed a little shoe shop on a principal thoroughfare. It was kept by an old man named Bredfield, who scraped up an acquaintance with Wayland and began cautiously to proselyte him. His victim was unsuspecting and finally stopped as he passed the little shop and listened attentively when the old fellow would pick up a book and read a passage or two from it. Then they would discuss the matter under consideration and finally Wayland took the book home and read it. It was one of John Ruskin's. One evening as Wayland was going home from business the old fellow slipped another book under his arm. On his way home he looked at it. "The Co-operative Commonwealth, by Laurence Gronlund," he read on the cover. Then he turned to the title page and read, "An Exposition of Socialism." Wayland was aroused in a minute. He was indignant. The capitalist newspapers always spoke of Socialism as something seditious and indecent. The old man had taken a mean advantage of him, and he at first thought to pitch the book in the gutter. He took it home, however, and after supper went into his library, and, with a guilty feeling, began to read the book. The more he read the more his interest grew. He was overwhelmed, astounded. Finally his feelings overcame him and he flung the book down, exclaiming in the excitement of a great discovery: "By God! Its politics!"

A new light had broken in on him. Saul had become Paul. Next morning he hastened to Bredfield and plied him with questions. Wasn't it politics? Couldn't it be brought about by a political movement? The old man's eyes twinkled and he nodded his head. Then Wayland learned some things he had not known before. The old man told him about the People's party and that it even published a local paper—a paper actually printed on Wayland's presses! There was a campaign coming on and Wayland plunged in. He was a changed man. He had everything he came across reprinted, and flooded the town. On two different occasions he bought 50,000 copies each of "Ten Men of Money Island" and "Seven Financial Conspiracies," and had them mailed to every address in the state he could obtain. People thought he had lost his wits and bantered and bluffed him. They pressed him into taking all kinds of bets on the coming campaign—and when election day came the People's party candidates made such a good showing that he won every single bet!

In the winter of 1892 Mr. Wayland and his wife were in Florida, and he had been doing some reading and thinking. He became convinced that a panic was coming on. He grew uneasy, for a panic would have caused him the loss of most of his fortune. Finally he made a flying trip to Colorado and began to sell his real estate for what he could get for it at forced sale. The people thought he was crazy. A few months later, when the panic of 1893 was upon them, they changed their estimate of his mental condition. He rode the financial storm like a duck, and many a fellow townsman, who had laughed at his warnings, went down to ruin. After he had disposed of his real estate he took editorial charge of the local paper without pay and made it so hot for propaganda that it became a power in the state. In the state populist convention he insisted on the nomination of Gov. Waite and the convention did not dare refuse it. He knew that Waite stood for more than mere money

reform, and he was working for the future of the movement when it would break away from some of its confusions.

When Ruskin colony was started, as a result of the success of the "Coming Nation", which Wayland began at Greenville, Ind., he sent money down to a few people who were first to arrive on the ground, and one of them who was a sort of self-constituted agent, kept writing for more, alleging that various work was under way and being rushed forward. When Wayland appeared on the scene, he found nothing had been done, but that the pioneers were quartered at a hotel at Tennessee City, living in luxury on the money he had forwarded. From the start, Mr. Wayland says, there was no social life at Ruskin. I asked him if he thought he could do better if he should try again. He said he knew of one way to make such a colony succeed, and that would be to hire people to live in it and pay them a salary for living there!

Before going to Ruskin Wayland had read none of the books on the history of American communities. But even reading of their failures would not have deterred him, he says. He had to find out by actual experience the impossibility of all-around success in such undertakings.

I tried to get a photograph of my host for the year book, but he shook his head, laughingly, "I have refused to give out my picture for psychological reasons," he said. People imagined what he looked like from his writings and it was better not to destroy their imaginary picture by presenting the real one. And to show how some people regard him, I will give you this little anecdote I heard while



WAYLAND'S HOUSE AT RUSKIN.

in Girard. Mr. Wayland's son went visiting in the state of Arkansas. He was introduced to a young man, who was instantly struck by the name. "You come from Kansas, eh?" he said, "you aint any relation to the Wayland that edits the Appeal to Reason over there are you?" "Yes, he's my father." "You don't say! why my father prays to him every night!"



Office of the "APPEAL TO REASON," at Girard, Kansas.

Wayland finished his cigar and then showed me his library—a small one, for he says he hates to keep books idle as long as he can find any body willing to read them. He also exhibited a framed picture of his house in Ruskin, which I took the liberty of copying. On the way down town we stopped in the postoffice and helping him carry his mail over to the office, I looked on while he opened it. It was a sight worth seeing, and I could see how his correspondents kept him on the jump tending to all their needs.

The Appeal to Reason occupies the entire building, of which a view is herewith shown. On the first floor are the mailing clerks, the office, then a large space filled with paper rolls for the big press—a warehouse overflow—and back of them the two presses, the job presses, the gas engine, etc. One of the big presses is a perfecting one and rips off 10,000 papers an hour. On the floor above is the type-setting department and the assistant editor's sanctum. The composing room is presided over by an ex-Ruskinite, and the assistant editor is now Comrade F. G. R. Gordon, but when I was there it was Comrade Dodge, better known to readers of the paper as "Pilgrim," and also a former Ruskinite, by the way.

After supper, in the evening, we started out for a stroll and talked and talked, as only two red hot Socialist enthusiasts can talk. When he was warmed up to his subject, I almost imagined it was Debs talking to me, and I am willing to go on record as saying that if Wayland went at it he could make as big a hit as a speaker as he has as an editor, and that is certainly saying a great deal. We talked about tactics, about Socialist newspapers, and what not, and Wayland meantime puffed away at his cigar till it glowed like a Bengal light. He's an awful smoker, and says if he didn't have at least four cigars a day he'd be so nervous there would be no living with him.

With genuine sadness I started to the train next day. Wayland insisted on going to the depot with me and before

we left the office filled me up with pamphlets, and then the train came puffing along and the time for saying farewell had come. I thought as I gazed at his receding figure on the platform how little the townsmen about him realized his true worth to humanity or the deep, world-saving significance of his self-sacrificing activity, his consecrated labors. And I want to say in addition that J. A. Wayland is decidedly my kind of a good fellow.

WAYFABER.

KARL MARX ON GEORGE.

As the agitation for a single tax on land values still continues, owing largely to the activity of a rather restricted number of advocates rather than to any general yearning on the part of the people for it, the following translation of a letter written by Karl Marx to Comrade F. Sorge of Hoboken, N. J., shortly after George's *Progress and Poverty* appeared, will be found to be live reading and valuable for reference.

LONDON, JUNE 20, 1881.

* * * * Before your copy of Henry George's book had reached me, I received two other copies. * * * For the present I must limit myself to expressing very briefly my opinion of the book. The man is far behind the times in his theoretical views. He knows nothing about the nature of surplus-value, and so wastes his time, after the English manner, and in speculations which the English have left behind, about the relations of profit, rent, interest, and so on. His fundamental idea is that everything would be all right if ground rents were paid to the state. (You will find that kind of payment mentioned in the Communist Manifesto, among transitional measures.) This view originated with the bourgeois economists, and it was next asserted—if we overlook a similar demand at the end of the

XVIIIth century—by the first radical followers of Ricardo, soon after his death. I expressed myself in regard to it in 1847, in the book which I wrote against Proudhon: 'We know that the economists, such as Mill (Mill senior, not his son, John Stuart Mill, who has also repeated it, but in a somewhat modified way), Cherbulliez, Hilditch and others, have demanded that rent should be paid to the state so as to serve as a substitute for taxes. This is a frank statement of the hatred felt by the industrial capitalist for the land-owner, who seems to him to be a useless, unnecessary member in the organism of Capitalist society.'

As already stated, we inserted this appropriation of ground rent by the state among our many other demands, which, as also stated in the Manifesto, are self-contradictory and must be such of necessity.

The first to turn this demand of the radical English bourgeois economists into a Socialist panacea, to declare it as the solution of the antagonisms inherent in the present system of production, was Colins, a Belgian by birth, and formerly an officer of hussars under Napoleon. In the latter days of Guizot and in the early days of Napoleon "le petit" (the little) he rendered the world happy by pouring out on it, from Paris, thick volumes upon this "discovery" of his, as well as on the other discovery he made, viz: that there is no God in existence, but an "immortal" human soul, and that animals have no gift of perception. For if they had one, he argued, they would also have a soul, and we would be cannibals, and then no kingdom of justice could be established on earth. His "anti-land ownership theory" as well as his soul etc. theory has been preached for years in the Paris monthly, "*Philosophie de l'Avenir* (Philosophy of the Future), by the few surviving followers of his, mostly Belgians. They call themselves "rational collectivists" and have commended Henry George.

After them, and along with them, this "Socialism" has, among others, been threaded out into a thick volume by a

blockhead by the name of Samter, a Prussian banker, and formerly collector of lotteries.

All these "Socialists," including Colins, have this in common, that they let wage labor, and with it, capitalist production, stand as before, and want to deceive the world that by turning ground rent into a tax paid to the State, all the evils of the Capitalist system will disappear of themselves. The whole is merely a Socialistically fringed attempt to save the rule of Capitalism, and to establish it in fact on a still larger foundation than it has at present.

This cloven hoof sticks out in a manner not to be mistaken in all declarations of Henry George. He is still less to be forgiven since he should have asked himself the question: "How is it that in the United States, where, in comparison with civilized Europe, the land was more accessible to the great masses of the people, and to a certain degree still is, that in this country the Capitalist system and the consequent servitude of the working class, have developed faster than in any other country?"

At the same time, George's book and the sensation which it has created in your country have this significance, that it is the first, even if unsuccessful, attempt made to cut loose from the orthodox political economy.

Henry George seems, moreover, to be entirely ignorant of the history of the American Anti-Renters.* Otherwise he is a writer of talent (he has also a good talent for Yankee puff) as his article on California in the "Atlantic Monthly" shows. He also has that repugnant arrogance and conceit which is so characteristic of all panacea-hatchers of this kind.

With fraternal greeting, yours,

KARL MARX.

*The Anti-Renters were settlers in the State of New York, who refused to pay rent all the time to the "legal" owners, who based their ownership on old parchment, deeds and land grants. They numbered thousands in the most fertile parts of the state. The so-called owners consisted practically of two old families—the so-called Knickerbockers. When the courts decided in favor of the "owners" the Anti-Renters took up arms and shot down the officers. The Anti-Renters also carried on a lively campaign and turned the scale in many elections. The struggle lasted for nearly two decades, in the thirties and forties, and was brought to an end by compromises.—F. Sorge.

MACHINE VS HAND LABOR.

The appearance of the thirteenth annual report of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, in two volumes during the year, was hailed with exultation by the Social Democrats of the United States. The volumes dealt with machine and hand labor and presented some exceedingly valuable statistics on the subject, figures which being authoritative will be used by the Socialists with good effect. The following facts gleaned from it by the editor of the "Appeal to Reason" show its value to the Socialist propaganda:

For producing 26 pounds of rice, one cent in wages is paid in the United States; Landslide plows, cast iron, oak beams and handles, 79 cents; 14-tooth steel garden rakes, one cent; 12-tooth, 2-bow, wooden rakes, bent handles, one-half cent; men's fine grade, calf, welt, lace shoes, single soles, box toes, 74 cents; finest ladies' kid shoes, 54 cents; cheap kid, 18 cents; producing crackers cost less than half cent per pound. What is the difference between the cost of flour and crackers? 100 feet of 9-inch sewer pipe cost 38 cents in labor; No. 6 house broom, wire wound, 3 12-inch bands, 20 lbs. corn per doz., 4 cents each for labor; for producing 100 gross 4-line Yankee buttons, labor is paid 20 cents; for producing one yard of the finest body Brussels carpet, labor is paid 9 cents.

At the request of the editor of the Red Book, Mr. Isador Ladoff has prepared a brief digest of the report, as follows:

"The report does not attempt to explain the effect of the use of machinery operated by women and children upon wages and upon the question as to whether changes in the creative costs of products are due to a lack or surplus of labor or to the introduction of power machinery. It leaves undecided the problem whether the increase (we mean the total not the relative increase) in wages since the introduction of power machinery and the employment of women and children is due absolutely to the use of machinery, or to higher standard of living, or to the increased productivity of labor supplemented by machinery, or to all these causes combined, or to other causes. The commissioner however admits that machinery tends to lower the cost of production. He however does not touch the question of what part of the benefit of the lowering of the costs of production, if any, falls to the toilers. In general the commissioner of labor seems to be rather a pessimist in respect to the labor problem and the ways and means of its solution. Here we have Mr. Wright's hopeless verdict on the labor problem.

1. All solutions thus far tried and advanced are valueless.
2. Factory inspection, which was advocated as a panacea for all ills of workingmen, has not lessened their discontent.
3. Fewer hours of work were recommended and they were reduced in some cases from 13-8, but while workingmen are more intelligent than they were, the labor question is more discussed than ever.
4. Arbitration, which has been urged as a cure-all, he says, "in no wise lessens the fundamental struggle."
5. Legal or compulsory arbitration he denounces and says: "It

would lead to the militarism which existed in the ages we have happily passed."

6. Cooperation is put to one side as impossible.

7. He has no more faith in profitsharing than in cooperation; and finally

8. Prohibition will not solve the problem, for he says: "It will throw back on the farmers sixty millions of bushels of grain, remove a million men from their positions and take a thousand millions of dollars out of the channels of trade."

In short, Mr. Wright ran into a blind street and does not see any way out of it. Such is the inevitable fate of all middle-class sincere investigators. Only the ideas of Socialism are a power to penetrate through the seemingly hopeless Egyptian darkness of the labor problem and to show a clear road from the industrial Egypt into the promised land of true freedom, fraternity and equality. Individualism is the real source of pessimism. But its opposite—RACEISM, or Socialism, is an inexhaustible source of optimism, indestructible—of faith in the dignity, worth and bright future of humanity in general, and the unredeemed toiling masses in particular. Confessions like that of the U. S. labor commissioner are the best testimony of an approaching crisis in the point of view of sincere investigators and observers of industrial life and strife. It is not natural for men to prefer to remain long in darkness when floods of light spread around them. Socialistic thought is spreading rapidly everywhere and the day is not far when anti-Socialists will be just as rare as anti-abolitionists now are in the United States.

The report embraces all kind of industries and is quite complete in itself. We rearranged the figures of the report for the sake of comprehensibility, so as to contain under one single heading all operations of manufacture, which were subjected to the same contraction of time in consequence of introduction of machinery, as follows:

The time of production was shortened under machine labor comparatively with hand labor to about: $\frac{3}{8}$ in the manufacture of flowerpots, $\frac{3}{4}$ in the manufacture of pocketbooks, $\frac{1}{2}$ in the manufacture of neckties, brooms, collar and cuff boxes, flask cartons, shoe brushes, jars, clock cases, corks, scyths, designing (engraving), dried prunes, hammocks, kindlingwood, labels, cupplungers (leather), kidleather, saddles, saws, soup^{tureens} (silver), cups (tin), tobacco (chewing), shovels, awnings, flags, tents, and in the mining of bituminous coal; $\frac{1}{2}$, men's hats, sewerpipe, brick, buttons (vegetable, ivory), divanframes, tops (carriages), sleighs, hatchets, mantels, engraving, boxes, (suspender), woodcuts, diamond cuttings, chairs, electrotyping, lockets (gold), faucets, sheet music, breadpans (tin) and sails; $\frac{1}{4}$, bags (other than paper), bookbinding, buttons (bone, brace), wagons, barrels, shotguns, bureaus, (furniture), desks, pins (gold), ladders (wooden), marble (cutting), blinds, screens (window), saucepans, washbasins (tin), screwdrivers, chemises (woman's underwear), typewriting (copying), quarrying (granite); $\frac{1}{2}$, shoes (men's brogans), buggies, watchcases, shears, handkerchiefs, chairframes, bolts (iron), nuts (steel), cuffbuttons, lasts, brown prints, milkpans (tin), cans (tin, tomatoe), chisels and spokes (wheel); $\frac{1}{2}$, rakes (steel), shoes (wo-

men's), boxes (tobacco), springs, hooks (bush), cleavers, lounges, chains (gold), granite (grooving), netting, doors, harness, undershirts and windowguards (springs); $\frac{1}{2}$, gold leaf (cutting), boxes (shoe), collars, brackets, teaspoons (silver), wire (gold), tables, mattresses (spring), rods (fishing), springs (furniture, measures (tin)); $\frac{1}{8}$, shoes (man's calf), buttons (brass), carpets and boxes (pill); $\frac{1}{2}$, button molds, boots (man's, pegged), boots (women's cheap), carpet (sewing), combs, riflestocks and tips, sideboards, hats (woman's), hairpins (silver), airchambers and floatballs, tobacco (smoking), nailclippers, wheels and shirts; $\frac{1}{8}$, boxes (bakingpowder), files, rings (gold), marble urns and vases, posters and (man's) clothing; $\frac{1}{2}$, gravel transportation; $\frac{1}{2}$, rakes (wooden), boots (woman's fine), rivets, type and butter; $\frac{1}{8}$, bags (paper), railroad tickets (printing), axles (carriage), washers, granite (dressing), hymnbooks (printing), shingles and hammers; $\frac{1}{2}$, envelopes, bedsteads, coffee pots (tin); $\frac{1}{2}$, spring clips, and spring hangers; $\frac{1}{8}$, seals, pitchforks, collarbuttons, threading pipe, canning fruit, cigars, dash boards, and iron pipe, wrought. And so on.

Machinery has lowered the cost of production; but the hand method of production is still extensive, though steadily going out of use. Some comparisons are made as follows: Ten plows, which cost \$54.46 by hand labor, and which employed two men for 1,108 hours, cost, when made by machinery, \$7.90, employing 52 men for 37 hours 28 minutes. One hundred blank books cost, when made by hand, \$219.79, and employed 3 men for 1,272 hours; they cost, when made by machinery, \$69.97, employing 20 men for 245 hours. Ruling 100 reams of paper cost, when done by hand, \$400, and employed 1 person 4,800 hours; when done by machinery it cost 85 cents, and employed 2 persons for 2 hours 45 minutes. One hundred pairs of men's fine boots, when made by hand, cost \$556.27, and employed 1 person 2,225 hours; when made by machinery they cost \$74.39, and employed 140 men for 296 hours.

NOTABLE LABOR CONFLICTS OF 1899.

The coal strike at Pana, Ill., with the strife between the union miners and the imported non-union negroes gradually quieted down so that by March 25th the last of the state troops were withdrawn. The grand jury failed to find any indictments. On April 11 another riot broke out in which the deputy sheriff took part. Six persons were killed and eight wounded. The trouble was finally adjusted by the mine owners agreeing to recognize the union and to send away the non-union men.

On May 5 the Buffalo grain shovellers' strike began. Some 1,500 shovellers objected to a new schedule of wages forced on them by W. J. Conners, who had a contract with the Lake Carrier's Association for the unloading of grain. They demanded that the association deal with them direct. They also objected to receive-

ing their wages in saloons under a saloon-boss system that required them to take part pay in drinks. The strike extended to others and on May 31 2,000 freight handlers struck against inhuman loads. The men practically gained all points save as to abrogation of Connors' contract.

A capitalistic infamy that will long be remembered was the brutalities following the Wardner, Idaho, riots of April 29. On that date the miners, goaded to desperation by the tyranny of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Company, brought to the mines sixty heavy boxes of dynamite and blew the works into a mass of rubbish. The men were desperate and knew of no better way to redress their wrongs. About \$250,000 worth of property—the company claims—was destroyed. About 1,000 men took part in the lawless act. The sheriff of the county, alleged to be in sympathy with the miners was disregarded and martial law declared by the government, Gen. H. C. Merriam and his troops aiding the federal authorities in placing many men under arrest. Gen. Merriam with characteristic despotism declared the Western Federation of Miners a criminal organization and provided that no miner could get employment in that territory unless he signed a declaration admitting that the federation was a criminal body. This declaration had to be approved and countersigned by Gen. Merriam before the miner could secure employment. Over 1,200 men were corralled in a stockade, known as the "bull pen" and cruelly and outrageously treated by the soldiers. They were held months without trial, and are still so held.

The Cleveland street railway strike began June 10, and a settlement was effected June 24, by which a system of arbitration was put in force and most of the strikers taken back. The strike paralyzed traffic and was characterized by riots and disorder, in which sympathetic citizens took part. The strike grew out of a refusal by the street car company to recognize the union.

On July 17, the Cleveland street car strike was renewed, as the company failed to keep its agreement with the men. It then lasted two months, with great disorder, and with the sympathy of the people on the side of the men. The presence of the militia and an extensive boycott, not only of the cars, but of those who dared ride on them, were features. The cost to the city was about \$5,000,000. The strike ended in September, the company agreeing to take the men back as soon as possible.

A street car strike at Wheeling, W. Va., lasted from early spring till June 29. It was for a restoration of wages and took the form of a boycott on the cars, which ran empty, with heavy loss to the company. The matter was ended by compromise.

The coal miners of Colorado struck June 16, 30,000 men being idle. A new state law reduced the work day from 12 to 8 hours, and the men demanded that the reduction in wages be one-sixth instead of one-third. The matter got to the courts and was compromised.

Among the other strikes of the year was that of the street laborers at Rochester, N. Y. The men demanded the old pay for eight hours and finally won.

The close of the year witnessed the continuance of an extensive strike of printers on the N. Y. Sun. It began Aug 5.

GRONLUND—GRANT ALLEN.



The death of Laurence Gronlund in New York City, Oct. 16, 1899, caused widespread mourning among American Socialists. He was at the time an associate editor on the New York "Journal." For years he had led the life of a wanderer, literary work giving him but the poorest of livings. Too unflinching and consistent to prostitute his talents, he was frequently without a bed and without a crust. Since his death the pathetic side of his life has been brought forth and it is known that he frequently slept in city parks and on more than one occasion slipped out of a hall where he had delivered a lecture on Socialism to crawl under the steps of the same building for a night's repose. When some

measure of success had come to him and he was no longer haunted by lack of employment, death claimed him. The following account of his career was furnished the editor of this volume last May:

"I was born in Denmark in 1846 and after getting my degree of A. M. at the University of Copenhagen, came to this country in 1866. I was admitted to the bar in Chicago the next year and practiced law there till 1879, when I became a full fledged Socialist. I really started on the road to Socialism in 1876 by reading Pascal's *Thoughts* (*Les Pensees*), and formed gradually a scheme of my own, which in 1879 I found out was plain Socialism. Then I wrote a dialogue 'The Coming Revolution,' of which I have not for many years seen a copy, but I occasionally see quotations from it, lately one by Dr. Heber Newton. Then came, in 1884, 'The Co-operative Commonwealth.' Ely says I was a young lawyer when I wrote it. I gave up entirely law, when I became a Socialist, and—in 1884—I was private secretary to a millionaire (one E. M. Davis, son-in-law of Lucretia Mott) who helped me publish the first edition. At least 100,000 copies have been sold—say 60,000 in this country and 40,000 in Europe, mostly England.

"I then went to England and France, where I stayed three years and wrote 'Ca Ira, or Danton on the French Revolution,'—decidedly my favorite, but the one that has sold worst. I returned in 1887 and then I entered the Socialist Labor party, and became member of their national executive committee. Then I wrote two pamphlets on 'Socialism and the Single Tax,' published by the party. But I could not stand them long. They certainly were as intolerant as now; they would speak only German at the meetings of the national committee, even when matters from English branches were pending, and when they resolved to lease a whole building for their business—devoting the basement to a saloon from the profits of which to defray the party expenses, I resigned. I went to Boston and became connected with the Nationalists (Bellamyites), and then wrote my book 'Our Destiny,' for the 'Nationalist.' Then

I became connected with the U. S. Department of Statistics of Labor, under Carroll D. Wright (missscalled Labor Department). After remaining there four years I made leisurely a trip throughout the continent to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Harvard, Yale, visiting all the colleges on my way, often invited by the chancellors and professors, hoping to impress the students and organize them. Lastly comes the 'New Economy' which I really believe is my most mature book. I hope this will be followed by another, which I trust will be my masterpiece—at least I know the book is needed."

The death in London, Oct. 25, 1899, of Charles Grant Blairfindle Allen, removes one of the most valuable of the working literary Socialists of England. His loss will be felt indeed. He was 51 years of age.

Grant Allen, as he preferred to be called, was especially notable among the followers of Herbert Spencer and his individualistic teachings, who afterward turned collectivists and embraced the Socialist cause. He was born at Kingston, Canada, Feb. 24, 1848, and his boyhood was passed on the banks of the St. Lawrence river. He had in his veins French, English, Scotch and Irish blood, which, with his wild boyish life may have accounted for his versatility. He was an intense lover of nature, as his writings showed. He got his education at New Haven, at Dieppe, France, and at Oxford, England. His success as a student was remarkable. His first writings were of a scientific nature, but much of this was written in a popular style, especially his "Evolutionist at Large," which has been gotten out in cheap editions within the reach of the people it was written for. Another interesting work is the "Half Century of Science," written by Huxley and Allen. His first scientific work was called "Physiological Esthetics." He paid for its publication himself and got neither fame nor money out of it. Still, it attracted the attention of many scientists, including Darwin. It was some time before success came to him.

In his earlier life he devoted several years to the ill-paid drudgery of school-teaching and when in 1883 he turned his attention to novel writing this experience found expression in his Socialistic novel, *Philistia*. He wrote many novels, the most famous being "The Woman Who Did." Perhaps his best known work in the field of science was his "Life of Charles Darwin," which was also written in popular style.

In his later years he was in poor health. When he settled down at Hindhead, in Surrey, not far from Tennyson's old home, he had the renowned Socialist, William Morris for a neighbor, Herbert Spencer was also one of his close associates and they spent much time together. He delivered many lectures and did some editorial work for the London Daily News.



A glimpse of Mr. Allen's Socialistic condition of mind is had in the following brief excerpt from a magazine controversy which he had a few years ago with a well known English individualist:

"I was born a Socialist. I remember that when I was four or five years old how I saw two tenants come to pay their rent. I had seen them working in the fields and I knew that they had raised the harvest; and I asked for an explanation. The theory of rent (not Ricardo's) was promptly explained to me. I thought it at the time an obvious injustice, and I never ceased to think it so. The land is all men's."

THE "GOLDEN RULE MAYOR."

When Mayor Jones of Toledo identified himself with the old Social Democracy in 1897, and followed this up by quoting William Morris in his speeches and writings, there was a hope that he might, in one sense, become to the movement in this country, what Morris was to that in England—its manufacturer-Socialist. What the future has in store no one can say, but thus far the above hope has not been realized. Mr. Jones, however, has probably gone as far as his light would permit.

In the spring Mayor Jones sought a nomination for re-election as Mayor from the Republican party, but he came into collision with the Hanna crowd and was turned down in a convention marked by disorder. Mr. Jones ran independently on a socialistic platform of his own making and was re-elected by a vote more than double that of the combined votes of the Republican and Democratic candidates. The total vote polled was 25,000, of which Mr. Jones received 17,700. This was the more remarkable because every newspaper in the city was against him.

Encouraged by this triumph, he entered the lists as an independent candidate for governor in the fall election. He made a hard campaign. The result was as follows:

	1899.	1897.
Republican	417,199	420,915
Democratic	868,176	401,750
Jones, non-partisan	106,721	
Socialist	2,485	4,242
Scattering	12,828	19,062
Total vote	907,359	854,969
Republican plurality	49,023	28,166

The Social Democratic Party, not being well organized in Ohio, did not put up a ticket, but left its members free to vote for the candidate of the S. L. P. (Bandlow) if they saw fit. The candidacy of Mr. Jones was not looked on with favor, partly because he ignored the existing Socialist parties, and partly because the interests of the movement demand that candidates be chosen by the Socialists themselves and be responsible to the party for the integrity of their principles when elected.

SOCIALIST CONTROVERSIES, 1899.

When the Dreyfus case in France took such a hold on the people there and assumed such a serious aspect that the safety of the republic was imperiled, the Social Democrats, led by Jean Jaures, decided to play a part to the end that the nation should take no backward step. They therefore threw their influence into the balance in the interest of a fair trial for Dreyfus and when the new president, Loubet, had almost failed of getting a cabinet, yielded a point and helped Waldek-Rousseau in forming one, two Socialists accepting portfolios, Millerand as minister of commerce and Pierre Baudin as minister of public works—the latter, by the way, thus finding himself at the head of the Paris exposition. In justification of this step Millerand said: "The Republicans have concluded an armistice in order to meet the enemies of the republic and to restore things to their proper places in the army, the magistracy and the administration." Particularly was the conduct of the two Socialists censured by the Socialist wing under Jules Guesde, because of the presence in the cabinet of Gen. de Gallifet, as minister of war, his conduct in the commune being held against him. Jaures defended the conduct of his colleagues with marked ability and was himself a conspicuous figure at the Dreyfus trial, having been largely instrumental in bringing it about. For months, however, the controversy among the Socialists continued, the leading Socialists of Germany and other countries being called on for their opinions. These opinions as a rule endorsed the efforts of the French Socialists to save the republic, but looked rather ruefully at the presence of Millerand and Baudin in the cabinet.

The matter came up in the Congress of French Socialists held in Paris in December. It was hotly debated. On December 7, the matter was disposed of in an equivocal way by the declaration (by a vote of 818 to 634) that "the struggle between the classes bars Socialists from accepting any but elective offices," which was followed (by a vote of 1,145 to 245) by the qualification that "under exceptional circumstances this might be permissible." Both, Guesde and Jaures hold that this was a victory for their own particular side.

The American Capitalistic press frequently refers to an alleged split or impending split in the Social Democratic party of Germany. It has reference to what is known as the Bernstein controversy. Of course the wish is father to the thought, as the solidity of the ranks in Germany is in no way threatened. All talk of a division over the subject of taking up reforms and tossing revolution overboard is the merest rubbish.

The facts are these. In 1897-98 Eduard Bernstein, formerly one of the leading Marxists, if not the leading one, a man who has been in exile in England for several years and who was formerly editor of the "Neue Zeit" of Berlin, contributed several articles to that journal in which he held that several of the axioms of the Marx theory had not been borne out by the actual development of Capitalist society since Marx' day, and that Social Democracy should acknowledge the fact and conduct itself accordingly. This

contention was bitterly attacked by well known German Social Democrats and Bernstein defended his position in a book which appeared in the spring of 1899. Bernstein has some notable adherents in such men as Auer, Volmar, Dr. David and others, while on the other side are Kautsky, Bebel, Liebknecht and others of standing. Heated as the discussion has been, it has been merely a controversy between the intellectual leaders of the party, the rank and file knowing scarcely anything of it. In a recent conference the subject was debated and Kautsky had a majority, who decided not to materially change the tactics of the party in Germany. That the Bernstein view is slowly gaining ground cannot be denied.

Among the American Social Democrats, the subject of special demands for farmers was debated by members of the Social Democratic Party for several months. Finally, the party by referendum vote dropped the farmers' demands from its platform. They were as follows:

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

During the early months of the year and prior to the split of June 10, the S. L. P. papers got into a controversy over the question as to whether the working class paid the taxes. As the controversy appeared to be raised from ulterior motives, it need not be further spoken of in this connection.

PROF. HERRON'S CASE.

On Oct. 13 Prof. George D. Herron resigned from Iowa college, and will hereafter devote himself to lecturing on Applied Christianity. In severing his connection with the institution he relinquished to the college all claim to the endowment of the chair of Applied Christianity which he occupied. The chair was endowed especially for him and he could have held the endowment, but preferred to be "magnanimous." For this he has been criticised in some quarters, it being held that he was in possession of a strategical position which he should have held in the interest of Socialism. The college, however, was in a peculiar position, Capitalism refusing to contribute very liberally to it while Prof. Herron remained, and on the other hand, Prof. Herron's endowment being necessary to its maintenance.

Prof. Herron's Socialism is of the Christian Socialist sort, and

therefore has lack of clearness—as is shown by his advocacy of the reactionary Single Tax, but he never-the-less has been doing a wonderful work in showing people what true Christianity means. Everywhere he has crowded halls and is greatly in demand.

George D. Herron was born in Montezuma, Ind., in 1862. As a youth he was gentle and thoughtful and a constant companion of his father, who was a man of great piety. From 13 to 20 he struggled with poverty, working in a newspaper office and studying for the ministry. For three years he was engaged in city mission work in Ohio, after he was 20, and for the following five years had village pastorates in Wisconsin and Minnesota. While pastor at Lake City, Minn., he delivered his first public message to the Minnesota congregational club, "The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth." It echoed from ocean to ocean. While a pastor in Iowa he was called to the Chair of Applied Christianity at Iowa college (1893) which was especially endowed for him. Since that time he has studied in Europe, has lectured from Maine to California, turning people away at all points. Under the National Citizenship league in 1898 he delivered eight lectures under the title, "Between Cæsar and Jesus," and repeated them in the spring of 1899 at the Central Music hall in Chicago to most remarkable noon audiences. They created a sensation and one of his converts was Dr. H. W. Thomas of the Peoples' church, who publicly announced his espousal of Socialism. Prof. Herron goes to Europe in January, 1900. Will visit Tolstoi and Krapotkin and go to Egypt. In the fall he will return to resume his lectures.

NO MASTER.

(Air: "The Hardy Norseman.")

Saith man to man, We've heard and known
That we no master need
To live upon this earth, our own,
In fair and manly deed.
The grief of slaves long passed away
For us hath forged the chain,
Till now each worker's patient day
Builds up the House of Pain.
And we, shall we, too, crouch and quail
Ashamed, afraid of strife,
And lest our lives untimely fail
Embrace the Death in Life?
Nay, cry aloud, and have no fear,
We few against the world;
Awake, arise! the hope we bear
Against the curse is hurled.
It grows and grows—are we the same,
The feeble band, the few?
Or what are these with eyes aflame,
And hands to deal and do?
This is the host that bears the word,
"NO MASTER HIGH OR LOW,"
A lightning flame, a shearing sword,
A storm to overthrow.

—William Morris.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

VICTOR L. BERGER, editor of the "Vorwaerts," one of the oldest German Socialist papers in this country, and a member of the national executive board of the S. D. P., was born in Neider-Rehbach, Austro-Hungary, Feb. 28, 1860. He received private instruction and afterward attended the gymnasium and the universities of Budapest and Vienna. His parents losing their fortune, he emigrated with them to America. He went West and being unable to speak English, became gradually reduced to the verge of trampdom, doing all sorts of work, from repairing wash boilers to punching cattle. Returning to New York he learned the trade of metal polisher. He afterward became a teacher and was prominent in turner circles, being at one time a verein president and later at the head of district of Milwaukee, a district in which the turner normal school of the United States is located.

In December, 1892, he resigned from the Milwaukee schools to become editor of the local struggling daily Socialist organ, he having long been an advanced thinker along radical lines. During the A. R. U. strike he took an active part in Milwaukee and was made an honorary member of the order in recognition thereof. In 1896 he was a delegate to the Peoples' party convention at St. Louis, and with the help of delegates from Ohio and other states organized the Debs element in the convention. They met with more success than the outside world suspects. Mr. Debs' positive refusal to accept a nomination blocked their plans. Mr. Berger took a leading part in the formation of the Social Democracy and it was he who proposed the name. At the party's first convention in 1898 he took a leading part and was one of those who organized the Social Democratic party after the old organization had to be abandoned to the Colonizers and Anarchists. He was elected a member of the national board and has served ever since. In 1899 Mr. Berger had the honor to be elected a member of the American Academy. 614 State street, Milwaukee.

JAMES F. CAREY was born in Haverhill, Mass., Aug. 19, 1867, and went to work early in life in the shoe factories of his city, receiving his early education in the public schools. He was always active as a trade unionist and took a prominent part in the thirteen weeks' strike in the winter of 1894-5. In 1897 he had the honor of being the first Socialist ever elected, to political office in New England, being elected in December of that year a member of the Haverhill Common Council, polling 909 votes in a total of 1,400. His vote was 200 in excess of that ever given a candidate in that ward. He was elected president of that body, and making a record that surprised the city. Following upon that came his election to the legislature from the fifth district by a large majority where, with Representative Scates new records were made. His speeches upon child labor, the right of trial by jury for contempt of court and other important measures introduced by himself and Scates are acknowledged to be gems in their line. In the past two years he has done an enormous amount of work for the Social Democratic party, there being hardly a town or city in the state which he has not visited and spoken in. In 1895 Mr. Carey

was chairman of the great shoemakers convention in Boston at which three national bodies were amalgamated. He formed the first Nationalist club in Haverhill and in 1894 was one of the trio, Swift, Casson and Carey, that carried on the tremendous unemployed agitation on Boston Common. Mr. Carey has won laurels as a debater, his debate with U. S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge resulting in a magnificent victory. On Dec. 5, 1899 he was reelected to the Massachusetts legislature by a greatly increased majority. Haverhill, Mass.

JOHN C. CHASE, mayor of Haverhill, Mass., was born in Gilmonton, N. H., May 27, 1870. When one year old the parents of Mr. Chase removed from Gilmonton and took up their residence in Ossipee, N. H., where Mr. Chase's father met with an accident which resulted in his death. This left young John and three brothers and one sister to be provided for by the mother. The mother soon located in Milton Mills, N. H., where they remained for ten years. John went into the woolen mills at the age of nine to help gain a livelihood for the family. The next move was to Sanford, Maine, where they resided for one year, going from there to Barnstead, N. H., where John entered a shoe factory, which trade he followed there for eight years, attending school a part of the year and educating himself by the best means available.

In 1890 John with his mother and sister removed to Haverhill, Mass., where he took up his trade of shoemaking. He soon became an active worker in the labor movement, following it through all its developing phases until he found himself an ardent worker in the cause of Socialism. He became unable to hold his position in the factory on account of his activity in the labor movement, and accepted a position in a co-operative grocery store, of which he was one of the founders, and was in that position when elected mayor on the Social Democratic party ticket.

SUMNER FRANKLIN CLAFLIN, was born Nov. 28, 1862, in Auburn, New Hampshire, descended on maternal side from Puritan and on father's side from Scotch stock. He attended the common schools at Lynne and Columbia, N. H., and the Colebrook N. H. Academy, and early developed a literary turn of mind, his most prominent efforts being the editing of the Concord, N. H. Tribune (Republican) for ten years or until he finally cast his lot with the Socialist movement. In 1890 he issued a pamphlet on the subject of Nationalism, the matter of which had already appeared in the Manchester Telegram. He dates his conversion to Socialism from reading "Looking Backward" by Bellamy in that year.

In 1892 he was nominated a candidate for elector by the People's party at its first convention in New Hampshire. In 1894 he ran for Mayor as a Populist but upon a distinctly Socialist platform, in Manchester, N. H., and in 1896 he was renominated for Mayor by the Socialist Labor party, which he helped to organize in New Hampshire in that year, upon the same platform as before. The tactics of DeLeonism driving him from the S. L. P. in 1897 he joined the S. D., and May 1st, 1898 had the honor of being nominated at Nashua, N. H., the first candidate for Governor ever nominated under the party name of the Social Democratic party over a month before the convention at Chicago of June 11th, 1898,

developed the Social Democratic party of America. Believing in the "Social" ownership and "Democratic" control of all the means of production and distribution, he has devoted his life to the popularizing of those principles, and desires to leave to his family a consistent record as a Socialist believer in the brotherhood of men and the fatherhood of God. Mr. Claffin owns a pleasant home in the suburbs of Manchester and is a newspaper agent. He was one term Master Workman of the K. of L. and belongs to the Grange. Has always favored labor unions and the rights of labor. Is now state organizer of the S. D. P. for New Hampshire.

JESSE COX was born in Burlington, New Jersey, October 29th, 1843. His parents removed from Burlington to Philadelphia, Pa., when he was about six months old. He lived in Philadelphia until January, 1873, when he removed to Chicago, Illinois, where he has resided ever since that time. He was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia in 1865, and has been from that time to the present engaged in the practice of law. He was married in 1869, and has a family of four children, all of whom are now of mature age.

He became interested in the Socialist movement in 1877; was a candidate of the United Labor Party for City Attorney of Chicago in 1887, and in 1894 was a candidate of the Peoples Party for County Judge of Cook County, Illinois. He has been actively identified with the Socialist movement for the last fifteen years, helped form the Social Democratic party and was chosen chairman of its national board. 108 LaSalle street, Chicago, Ills.

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in the autumn of 1855, and at the age of 15 years began his work as a railway employe in the Vandalia car shops. Soon after he obtained a position as fireman on a freight engine, in which capacity he served some years, and soon attracted attention in the councils of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, of which he had become a member. He was 22 years old when that organization made him editor of its magazine, and from that day forward he has been unable to escape for a moment the exacting cares of leadership. Quickly following this entrance to official life he was made general secretary and treasurer of the organization, and saw it grow rapidly from infancy to national proportions. In this position he was custodian of literally millions of dollars of organization funds.

In 1892 Mr. Debs founded the American Railway Union, which was the first organization in the railway world to admit to membership every employe, from the section man and engine-wiper to the conductor and engineer. Its central idea was complete and universal organization. Under his guiding hand it speedily reached colossal proportions. Its first great strike was called on the Great Northern Railway. The road was successfully tied up from St. Paul to the Pacific ocean and the company forced to restore the wages of all employes, amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of dollars a month.

Scarcely was the Great Northern Railway case out of the way than the Pullman strike claimed attention. Thoroughly alarmed at the invincible strength of the new union built on the "universal brotherhood" plan, the General Managers' Association resolved

to force a general fight with the hope of crushing it in its infancy. The organization was less than one year old when the general managers began the assault. Employes were discharged simply for holding membership in the American Railway Union. The Pullman trouble was brewing at the same time and Pullman's employes, who were members of the organization, had had their wages cut fully 50 per cent. The public was led to believe that Mr. Debs could have avoided the Pullman strike and that he deliberately plunged into it. This, of course, was not true. He clearly understood the scope of the conspiracy against the life of the organization and knew the struggle could not be avoided. The Pullman matter was the most flagrant wrong at hand, and he took it up first, offered to submit the question to arbitration, and meeting with an emphatic refusal, ordered the members of the union to handle no Pullman cars. The battle was on and within two days scarcely a car of any description was moving between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast. Within a short time the commerce of the nation was practically paralyzed.

So long as the general managers fought fairly and proceeded as in all other strikes they were completely outgeneraled. Finally realizing this they appealed to the courts and found one willing to ignore the rights of man as guaranteed by the constitution of the nation and issued an edict suspending the freedom of speech. Mr. Debs was forbidden to send messages, letters or telegrams from headquarters to the members. This meant just what it would mean if a general on the battlefield was deprived of the right to speak or write. Of course he refused to submit and within a few days Mr. Debs and his lieutenants were behind the prison bars. Released later, when the strike was dead, there followed a long and hard-fought legal battle to test the new principles sought to be established, but the United States Supreme Court dodged the real question at issue.

In 1892, when Mr. Debs resigned his positions in the Firemen's Brotherhood, he was receiving \$4,000 per year. The convention of over 400 delegates by unanimous vote refused to accept his resignation, and offered any salary he might name. When it was found he could not be induced to change his mind, the convention by acclamation voted him a gift of \$2,000, with which to go to Europe and recuperate his somewhat broken health. This he declined. On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is, Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change." When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, which organization was perfected on June 21, 1897, with Mr. Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board, to which he devoted his means, energy, and splendid talents. After the split at Chicago in 1898, Mr. Debs was made a member of the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party, a position he still fills.

He has just completed a lecture tour of the Pacific coast which was nothing short of phenomenal. Terre Haute, Ind.

ALFRED SHENSTONE EDWARDS is of Welsh decent, and was born in Birmingham, England, October 23, 1848. Came to the United States in 1867. He is a printer by trade, and has always been identified with progressive movements; connected with the K. of L. for years and member of the old North Star Labor Club (L. A. 805) at Minneapolis, Minn.; speaker and writer; associated with the labor movement and social reform organizations for a dozen years before he was chosen editor of "The Coming Nation" in August, 1895. "The Coming Nation" was one of the best Socialist papers printed in the United States, and had subscribers in nearly every English-speaking country, where it kept up an interest in the colony at Ruskin, Tenn. In March, 1898, Mr. Edwards with three companions made an agitation trip to Chicago, holding meetings on the way and arriving in time for the Social Democratic convention. In that convention he took sides with the bolters and severing his connection with the wagon mission, assumed editorial charge of the new paper the "Social Democratic Herald," a position he still retains. Mr. Edwards has written under the name of "Seven Oaks." Room 56, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

W. E. FARMER was born in Jefferson county, Georgia, in 1851. Came to Texas in the winter of 1870-71 and settled in eastern Texas near Longview. He was educated in the schools of Stella-ville, Ga. On reaching his majority he became a volunteer fighter in the ranks of labor. He first affiliated with the Grange in 1872, when he was a farmer by occupation as well as by name. He joined the Greenback movement in 1878, and entered the campaign as a speaker and did valiant service. He joined the Knights of Labor in 1885 and was soon afterwards elected Master Workman D. A. 78, of Texas, and lectured and campaigned all over the state. He became a member of the Union Labor party as against the two old parties, and on the organization of the People's party in 1891 he cast his lot with it, and applied his force and energy to rallying the people to its ranks. He campaigned in more than a dozen states and met the champions of both old parties, carrying the flag of victory to all points.

He was a member of the 103 who refused to be compromised at St. Louis in 1896. Came back to Texas and joined the Socialists and began the publication of the Social Economist at San Antonio in January, 1898. He moved to Bonham, Texas, in February, 1899, and consolidated the Economist with "The Farmers' Review," under the name of "Farmers Review," as a straight Straight Social Democratic Journal.

Mr. Farmer is now a member of the Social Democratic party and as editor of the "Farmers Review" is dealing telling blows at capitalism. The "Farmers Review" is the only Socialist paper in Texas, and is published at 50 cents per year. Comrade Farmer has been, and is, one of the world's benefactors. He has spurned offers of worldly honors and wealth, and has chosen to battle for the rights of man and suffer persecution and poverty rather than compromise with capitalism for preferment. No man living will

have a better right to rejoice at the overthrow of capitalism which is sure to come, than comrade W. E. Farmer, and we hope he may be one of the elect who will be permitted to live to see this grand transformation. His address is Bonham, Texas.

F. G. R. GORDON, was born in Walden, Vt., Sept. 4, 1860. Lived in Iowa for four years. Is self educated. Became a Greenbacker in 1878, one of the first K. of L. in New Hampshire and helped organize the Peoples party in that state, being secretary of the state committee for two years. Was a member of the second Nationalist club in Boston. By trade a shoemaker, is a member of the International Boot and Shoe Workers union and was secretary of the great shoe worker's convention at Boston in 1895. Was a member of the S. L. P. for two years but disliked its spirit and joined the Social Democracy in December, 1897. Was present at the Chicago convention and participated in the bolt, serving as secretary of the organization meeting of the S. D. P. Mr. Gordon is a tireless worker, a ready writer and invaluable as a street speaker. His pamphlet, "Hard Times, Cause and Cure," has had a phenomenal sale. Girard, Kansas.

MARGARET HAILE made her first appearance before the public as editor of a woman's column in the Providence (R. I.) "Justice," in the spring of 1894, which she conducted throughout the lifetime of that paper, and has since contributed frequently to the Socialist press, both in prose and verse. Served as state secretary of the S. L. P. in Rhode Island for some two years. Moved back to Boston in 1896 and took an active part in the struggle then going on to reform the S. L. P. from within. Realizing the futility of the struggle, joined the S. D. A. upon its organization in 1897, and was first secretary of the Boston city committee and of the Massachusetts state committee of the S. D. A. Was chosen delegate, along with Carey, to represent Massachusetts at the national convention in Chicago in June, 1898, and was one of the "bolters" who organized the S. D. P. Upon the reorganization of the party, was again elected secretary of the Boston city committee and served until October, 1899; and also as state secretary, which position she still holds. Was secretary of the campaign committee in the Massachusetts state campaign of 1899. Is a speaker as well as writer; taught school and is now recognized as one of the most accurate verbatim reporters in the city of Boston. Comrade Haile has been an all-around worker in the movement in Massachusetts and almost more than anyone else has been responsible for its remarkable growth. She has done a vast amount of work and at no time worked harder than after the split at Chicago, where many of the Massachusetts comrades were discouraged. Almost single handed she got them back into line and together with Mrs. Konikow raised the funds and organized and directed the forces in the campaign which resulted in the first victory, the election of Carey and Scates to the state legislature. She speaks, writes and organizes with equal facility and is characterized by one of the Bay state comrades as the "co-ordinating force of the Massachusetts movement." She knows the needs of the movement intuitively, prepares the addresses to voters and leaflets, plans campaigns, and knows just who to call on when there

is some special service to be done. 5 Glenwood Ave., Roxbury, Mass.

FREDERIC FARIES HEATH was born September 6, 1864, at Milwaukee, and has had a common school education. In 1881 was apprenticed to a wood engraver, but afterwards became an artist. Meantime, to gratify a taste for literary work he published an amateur editorial paper, and in 1884 was made president of the National Amateur Press Association. In 1886 he removed to Chicago and a year later went to Florida to publish the "Florida Fruit Grower." In 1888 he returned to Milwaukee and did reportorial work on the "Milwaukee Daily Sentinel." In 1890 he again went to Chicago and became editor of the "Chicago Photo," an illustrated weekly. To this he contributed a series of reports of the doings of an alleged Bellamy club. Returning to Milwaukee in 1891 he took charge of the "Sentinel's" art department, a position he still holds. Mr. Heath was one of the early subscribers to Wayland's "Coming Nation," when it was published at Greensburg, Ind., and became a militant Socialist about that time. He participated in the meeting that inaugurated the Social Democracy of America and helped formulate its platform. When the split occurred at Chicago a year later, he was chairman of the meeting of seceders at the Revere house when the Social Democratic party was formed and was made a member of the national executive board, in which position he still serves. He writes freely for the "Social Democratic Herald" and other papers under various pen names. Mr. Heath is open to conviction on all subjects, and was one of the founders of the Milwaukee Ethical Society and for several terms secretary of its directors. He believes strongly in the trade union movement, being a member of the I. T. U. 182 Mason street, Milwaukee.

WILLIAM MAILLY, editor of the "Haverhill Social Democrat," was born in Pittsburg, Nov. 22, 1871, moving with his parents to Scotland two years later. Went to school in Liverpool and became errand boy and later a clerk. In July, 1889, he returned to the United States, working around the coal mines of Illinois, in brick yards and as a railway section hand. In 1890 went to Alabama and worked in the coal mines of that state. Became a union man that year and was in the state strike of miners 1890-91, the union being broken up. Took a leading part in the Alabama five-months' strike of 1894, being afterward elected state secretary and organizer of the unions. In May, 1895, became associate editor of the "Birmingham Labor Advocate," serving one year. Moved to Nashville and in December, 1898, went to New York City and then to Haverhill, there to serve as secretary of the S. D. P. state and municipal campaign committees, besides issuing the local paper. Was a delegate to the A. F. of L. convention at New York in 1895, voting for every socialistic measure proposed, and a year later was a delegate to Cincinnati. Mr. Mailly has held many offices in the trade union organizations. Was vice president of the Birmingham Trades Council and for three terms secretary of the Nashville Trades and Labor Council, being president of that body at the time of his removal to New York. He was secretary of the Tennessee Federation of Labor and was for

several months editor of the "Nashville Journal of Labor." While in Birmingham was a member of the A. R. U., and presided at a meeting held there in celebration of Debs' release from Woodstock.

He first took active part in politics in 1894, when he was made a delegate to the Peoples Party state convention in Alabama, and was afterward recognized as a staunch middle-of-the-roader. He left the Peoples Party in 1896 and helped organize a section of the S. L. P. in Nashville, it being short lived, however. In July, 1897, he assisted in organizing a branch of the Social Democracy and was its representative at the Chicago convention in 1898, being one of the "bolters" and one of the founders of the S. D. P. Maily got his radical ideas by reading Nunquain's articles in the Manchester, Eng., "Sunday Chronicle." In 1893 he came across some Socialist literature, which determined his future course. Has written under various noms-de-plume and is looked upon as an all-round worker. Haverhill, Mass.

CHARLES R. MARTIN was born at Clyde, Sandusky, Co., Ohio, in 1856. He began his career as a bread winner at Tiffin, O., as a messenger boy. Later he learned the trade of creamery butter making and followed it for a number of years, being finally obliged to give it up because of rheumatism. He became interested in political reforms in 1877. In 1883 he joined the Knights of Labor and served almost continuously as recording secretary of his assembly. Was also several terms treasurer of District Assembly No. 72, with headquarters at Toledo. He represented this district at the St. Louis session of the general assembly and also at the Philadelphia session. He was a delegate to the New Orleans session, at which he was one of those that were "locked out." When the Independent Order Knights of Labor was organized he was made general secretary-treasurer, serving till the demise of that organization. In 1894 he was the candidate of the Populists for secretary of state in Ohio and polled 49,495 votes. In 1896 he was a delegate to the St. Louis Populist convention and was one of the Debs boomers. He was present at the Chicago convention at which the Social Democracy was born, and a year later was one of the bolters who formed the present Social Democratic party. Mr. Martin is prolific and witty as a writer, and has contributed to "John Swinton's Paper," the "Social Democrat" and "Social Democratic Herald" over the signature of Jonas Harrison. In 1898 he published the "Historical Handbook of the I. O. K. of L," a book of great value to Socialists. Box 389, Tiffin, O.

THE REV. FREDERIC O. MAC CARTNEY, the newly elected representative from the Fourth Plymouth district, to the Massachusetts legislature, was born in Prairie Du Chien, Wisconsin, Nov. 2, 1864, and is the son of A. R. MacCartney of Denver, Colorado. Mr. MacCartney entered the Iowa College at Grinnell Isle, Iowa, the college from which Prof. George D. Herron, the celebrated Christian Socialist, has just resigned. Mr. MacCartney graduated from the Iowa College in 1889 and then entered Andover theological seminary, where he fitted himself for the ministry. He graduated from Andover in 1893 and in the same year he left the Congregational church to join the Unitarian denomination.

He was immediately appointed assistant minister of the Second church of Boston. He remained there one year and was called to the pastorate of the Unitarian church of Rockland, Massachusetts, in 1894, and remained as the settled pastor until July 15, 1899, when he resigned to accept the secretaryship of the Industrial Peace Society, which position he now holds. He has always been interested in politics and when the Social Democratic party sprang into existence he became much interested in the work. During the past five weeks he has been stumping the state in the interests of the Social Democrats. This is his first political office. He is a literary man and a deep thinker. He is also a writer of considerable ability and articles from his pen have appeared in some of the best magazines. Rockland, Mass.

WINFIELD PARK PORTER. Born in Westboro, Mass., October 7, 1866. Graduated from high school of that place. Was for over three years the general secretary of the Westboro Young Men's Christian Association, which he, with others, had organized. In 1892 was called to occupy same position in the Y. M. C. A. of Hyde Park, Mass., from which place he was called in 1894 to a similar position in Newburyport. Was at one time chairman of the Prohibition city committee of Newburyport. Resigned from association work in 1896. First attracted to the principles of Socialism by reading Bellamy's "Looking Backward," afterward often telling his friends that though the name of God did not appear in that book, it nevertheless contained more real, practical gospel than a thousand average sermons. Carefully investigated the claims of Socialism from many standpoints, soon becoming satisfied of the righteousness of Socialist principles and the crying need for their immediate application to the world's activities. Was largely instrumental in organizing a party branch in Newburyport, which has enrolled more than one hundred members. Has contributed many Socialist articles to various papers, and spoken in many towns and cities. Nominated for governor of Massachusetts by Social Democratic party in 1898 and again in 1899. Newburyport, Mass.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON, was born in New York City, June 11th, 1853, of New England parents, and graduated in the public grammar schools of that city, accompanying the family west in 1868. They settled on a farm in Missouri, near St. Louis, where he devoted some time to horticulture. He still continued his studies, however, and graduated from Washington University in 1876 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1880.

He entered the St. Louis Law School but left before graduating, and was admitted to the bar at Grant City, Mo., in the spring of 1881, during his term as principal of the Albany High School. In 1886 he became secretary, and, later, president of the Communist Association known as the Altruist Society. In 1887 he aided in organizing, and became secretary of the Puget Sound Co-operative Colony, located on the harbor of Port Angeles, Washington. In 1888 he was president of the Co-operative Commonwealth at Grass Valley, Cal. In 1890 he returned to St. Louis and engaged in the reform publishing business. In December, 1892, he became an

active member of the Socialist Labor party, and in the spring of 1893 he was the candidate of that party for mayor of St. Louis. Afterward being its candidate for various offices.

In May, 1893, in St. Louis, he organized and managed an aggregation of thirty-five Socialist weekly newspapers, known as the Socialist Newspaper Union which did considerable effective work for the cause of Socialism by the publication of its "World of Labor" page in hundreds of Populist newspapers printed at the same establishment. In 1896 he removed the headquarters of the Socialist Newspaper Union to Ruskin, Tenn., and joined the Ruskin Co-operative Association. Because of the repeated attacks made by Editor DeLeon, of the "People," on those connected with the publication of these local propaganda newspapers whose columns were open to the free discussion of party matters, the Ruskin Co-operative Association declined to continue their publication, and all were suspended after four years of energetic propaganda work in the principal cities of the United States. He joined the Social Democratic Federation in 1897, and the Social Democratic party in August, 1898, being the candidate of the party for Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri in the fall of that year. This was the first campaign of the S. D. P. west of the Mississippi river, and it polled votes in all but four counties of the state, receiving an aggregate of 1645. In April, 1899, he was a candidate for member of the City Council of St. Louis, 4225 North Newstead avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

LOUIS M. SCATES, who represented the Social Democrats of Haverhill, Mass., in the Massachusetts legislature in 1898-9, was born in Georgetown, Mass., Jan. 17, 1863. He received a common school education and then went into the shoe factories. After eleven years of shoe making, he became a conductor on the Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Railway, serving for three years. He lost his position through a strike against the tyranny of the road. He was elected to the legislature from the third Essex district, and served his constituents well, doing steady, substantial committee work, and watching with patient vigilance all measures affecting the interests of labor. Haverhill, Mass.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, born July 14, 1871 at Hartford, Conn., of revolutionary ancestors. Moved to Solomon City, Kansas, herded sheep—"protected industry"—for \$5.00 per month; in 1881 went to Chicago and worked for Crane Brothers Mfg. Co. (Iron Works), later worked for the Western Union Telegraph Co., went out on a strike of telegraphers when the signal (General Grant's dead) stopped the tickers in 1883. Studied law graduating in 1891. Served as secretary of campaign committee in Democratic party of Cook County, Chicago, was candidate for city attorney of People's party and later for States attorney for the same party. Represented the Fifth Illinois Congressional District in St. Louis People's party convention and addressed the National Committee representing the Anti-fusion delegation of Cook County, also before the Committee on Credentials. It was this contest upon which the Fusionists and Antis measured their strength for the convention floor. He voted against Bryan and fusion, when the local People's party joined Democratic party, but continued

with it, tacitly supporting free silver and wind and then assisted in organizing the Social Democracy and drafting its declaration of principles in 1897 and at the convention of 1898 assisted in discarding the colonization feature and organizing the Social Democratic Party, also assisted in drawing declaration of principles, was elected to Executive Committee and by that committee elected its secretary. 519 Sixty-sixth ave., Chicago, Ills.

HOWARD TUTTLE was born in Philadelphia in 1858. At the age of ten he secured employment in millionaire Stewart's store in New York, and later served as elevator boy in several Philadelphia hotels. Naturally inclined toward art he finally left the city on a freight train and moved about the country making pastel portraits. From this he naturally drifted into scene painting, and has pursued his trade in the principal theaters from New York to San Francisco. Eight years ago he located in Milwaukee. Mr. Tuttle has an honorable record as an organized workman, being a charter member of the National Alliance Scenic Painters of America No. 38 of New York City. He is a member of the Stage Employees' union in his city. He has organized unions in various parts of the country and is a delegate to the Trades Council of his city, having been a member also of its executive board. Mr. Tuttle is a Knight of Pythias, an Odd Fellow, A. O. U. W., T. M. A., and has lately joined the Masons. In 1897 he was the S. D. candidate for treasurer in the Milwaukee spring election, and in the fall of the same year was made the nominee of the Social Democrats for Governor of Wisconsin. 3320 Lisbon avenue, Milwaukee.

JULIUS A. WAYLAND, the "One Hoss Philosopher," was born in Versailles, Ind., in 1854, being the youngest of a family of three. His father dying when he was three months old, poverty was his most intimate relative. After about a year's schooling in the village school he had to enter the struggle for bread. When about 17 he got a place as "devil" in the office of the village paper and there grew up into printerdom. In 1873 he acquired the paper by the aid of friends, and made as much a success of it financially as is usually possible with a country paper. He moved to Harrisonville, Mo., in 1877, where he re-engaged in the paper business and where he was postmaster under the Hayes administration for a year, when he resigned and returned to Indiana in 1881, repurchased his original paper, and remained with it for about a year. Becoming dissatisfied, he moved to Pueblo, Col., in 1882, where he engaged in the printing business, owning at different times several papers, one being a daily. He quit the paper business in 1891, devoting himself to commercial printing, building up a large business in printing, lithographing and binding. When the boom struck the town of 7,000 in 1887, he invested in real estate and was very successful. He sold out his printing interests and devoted himself to the real estate business. In 1891 he became interested in social problems and began the study of social science, which led him to establish "The Coming Nation," at Greensburg, Ind., in April, 1893, and through it he founded the colony now located at Ruskin, Tenn. The paper and printing outfit was moved to Tennessee in July, 1894. The bringing together of people who had never been acquainted resulted in such friction

and strife that Mr. Wayland withdrew. After a rest he began the publication of the "Appeal to Reason," at Kansas City, Mo., in August, 1895, and in February, 1897, he issued it from Girard, Kans., where he established a complete printing and publishing plant. Mr. Wayland is devoting his time and means to propagate Socialism through pamphlets and books at nominal cost, and the "Appeal," which is the most spicy Socialist paper in the United States. Girard, Kans.

CHRONOLOGICAL, (1899).

Jan. 1.—Spanish sovereignty in Cuba ceased. United States debt, less cash in treasury, \$129,176,286. A Labor Church is established by Denver Socialists.

Jan. 2.—Mayor Chase of Haverhill, Mass., takes oath of office.

Jan. 17.—A trial of Gen. Eagan for his attack on Gen. Miles is ordered. Chauncey Depew elected Senator from New York.

Jan. 24.—A third request for recognition of the Filipino Republic is received at Washington.

Jan. 28.—Gen. Eagan sentenced to dismissal from the army. New York Social Democrats form a central organization.

Jan. 30.—The Rev. Myron Winslow Reed dies at Denver, aged 63.

Feb. 1.—Walter L. Vrooman, an American, establishes a college for labor leaders at Oxford, England, called Ruskin hall.

Feb. 4.—War between the U. S. and the Philippines is resumed.

Feb. 6.—Peace-treaty with Spain ratified by Senate.

Feb. 7.—President McKinley commutes sentence of Gen. Eagan, to suspension from rank and duty for six years *with pay* for six years. At the end of six years he is to go on retired list, with half pay.

Feb. 15.—Tolstoi writes a letter condemning the Czar's peace proposals.

Feb. 16.—Pres. Faure of France dies of apoplexy.

Feb. 18.—M. Loubet chosen President of France.

Feb. 20.—Employees of the Standard Oil Company hurriedly remove from Ohio to other states to avoid the official investigation of alleged unlawful practices of the company.

March 1.—A Union Reform party, to include various shades of "reformers" is started at Cincinnati. Bill to pay Spain \$20,000,000 under the terms of Peace treaty passes the House.

March 4.—W. R. Merriam made director of the 12th census. An increase of wages granted various mill hands in New England by which former rates are partially restored, will prevent threatened strikes.

March 5.—Mayor Samuel Jones defeated for Republican nomination for re-election, at Toledo, announces he will run independently on a Socialist platform. Herbert Casson resigns as editor of "Coming Nation."

March 6.—Jason Spofford, Social Democrat, elected selectman at Amesbury, Mass.

March 7.—The governor of Illinois signed the bill repealing the notorious Allen law, which gave city councils the right to grant fifty year street car franchises with five cents as the minimum fare. The new law restricts new grants to twenty years.

March 8.—George Rice, of Marietta, O., an independent oil refiner who was forced out of business, alleges that the Standard Oil Co. tried to bribe Atty.-Gen. Monnett of Ohio, to head off official investigation into the company's methods. Mr. Monnett admits that \$400,000 was offered him, and that \$200,000 was offered his predecessor.

March 11.—Judge Chetlain of the Superior Court at Chicago holds the state anti-department store law void. Lydia Kingsmill Commander and Herbert Casson are married at Ruskin colony, Tenn.

March 16.—Chief Sargent of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, testifies before the labor committee of the Industrial commission, that had Judge Jenkins of Wisconsin not issued the famous injunction to restrain the Northern Pacific employees from striking, in 1894, there would have been no strike.

March 20.—The Rev. Father Ducey, pastor of St. Leo's church, New York, active supporter of the Lexow investigation of municipal rottenness, is retired.

March 23.—6,000 workmen at Pittsburg strike for a raise of 10 per cent, at Fox steel plant.

March 25.—Troops removed from Pana, Ills. The grand jury failed to find indictments against the miners and negroes who participated in the riots.

March 27.—American Telegraph and Telephone increases its capital stock to \$75,000,000.

April 2.—Prof. Albion Small, head of the department of Sociology at Chicago University, declares that capitalism is the country's menace and that the best way to solve the social problem is to frankly acknowledge that the present system is altogether wrong.

April 3.—1,000 operatives at the Ponemah mills at Norwich, Conn., strike for a 10 per cent raise in wages.

April 6.—In an interview, "Tom" Johnson, the erratic street car magnate of Cleveland, declares that "the time is coming when the people will ride free upon the street cars."

April 8.—The Mazet committee of the New York assembly begins investigation of New York City administration.

April 10.—Miners' riot at Pana, Ills.

April 16.—The counsel of the Standard Oil Co. denies the stories of attempted bribery.

April 17.—The Rev. H. W. Thomas, at Chicago, pastor of the People's church, makes a public announcement of his conversion to Socialism.

April 20.—The fake workmen's Jeffersonian dinner takes place at New York.

April 21.—Senator Quay is acquitted of charge of conspiracy.

April 25.—During March and April, a general rise in wages in Eastern industries to head off contemplated strikes, took place. In many cases the wage increase was not sufficient to restore wages to the rate paid in 1897.

April 29.—Riot of the miners at Wardner, Idaho. The work of dismantling the model town of Pullman, Ills., is begun, as a result of a decision of the state, supreme court denying the right of the Pullman company to conduct a municipality.

April 30.—Pres. Krueger announces that the Transvaal is the leading gold producing country of the world. Eugene Dietzgen appointed delegate of the Social Democratic party to the International congress at Paris in 1900 by national executive board S. D. P.

May 2.—The postmaster general excludes all anti-imperial pamphlets from the mails for the Philippines, claiming they are seditious.

May 4.—Labor Commissioner Powers of Minnesota testifies before the Industrial commission that a greater proportion of farmers own their own land than fifty years ago. The tendency was toward small farms, he said. Mayor Jones of Toledo announces himself an independent candidate for Governor of Ohio.

May 5.—The Marlboro strike in Massachusetts comes to an end, the operatives returning to work. It lasted twenty-five weeks, during which time about 5,000 men, women and children removed from the city. On account of the foreclosure of mortgages some of the operatives will lose their homes.

May 6.—Rioting at Pana, Ills., between union miners and imported non-union negroes results in six deaths and a long list of injured. Andrew Carnegie retires from active business life and announces that he will fight trusts.

May 7.—Report of beef inquiry court is made public. Serious street car strike at Duluth, Minn.

May 10.—Prof. A. S. Mitchell of Wisconsin testifies before the Pure Food Commission that butchers embalm scraps of meat for use in Hamburger steaks.

May 11.—James W. Lee of Pittsburg testifies before the Industrial Commission that the Standard Oil Co. crushed his companies and then tried to buy them. Industrial Commission begins its investigation of trusts.

May 18.—"Gen." Jacob S. Coxey tells a Chicago paper that the trusts are a blessing as showing "that the entire control of any industry can be centered under one head."

May 17.—Mayor Jones begins his campaign for governor on an anti-party crusade.

May 18.—Letter carriers in Paris strike for more pay. Peace congress at the Hague opens.

May 27.—U. S. offer to pay Cuban ex-insurgents to lay down their arms fails miserably. Only seven appear to accept pay from the fund of \$3,000,000.

May 28.—About 100 Cubans are persuaded to apply to the fund.

May 29.—Dreyfus revision hearing begins at Paris.

June 2.—Count Esterhazy, a fugitive in London, confesses to having written the Dreyfus Bordereau, under orders from his superiors.

June 8.—W. H. Clark of Ohio testifies before the Industrial Commission that the Standard Oil Co., for whom he formerly worked, made it a practice to draw four alleged different grades of oil from one and the same tank.

June 12.—French cabinet resigns.

June 14.—Havemeyer of the sugar trust testifies before Industrial commission. President Krueger announces that he will "concede no more to England."

June 15.—Rioting in the Cleveland street car strike.

June 16.—Standard Oil Co., increases its capital stock to \$110,000,000.

June 22.—M. Waldek-Rousseau completes a cabinet for France, containing two Socialists.

June 28.—Gov. Pingree of Michigan announces in a public statement an alliance with Secy. Alger, in the latter's canvas for U. S. Senator. The Italian government decides to decree a force bill, to drive out Socialists.

June 24.—Centrists and Liberals unite with the Socialists in the German reichstag to defeat the strike bill of the government. George K. Holmes of the Department of Agriculture testifies before Industrial commission that the average per capita earnings of farm laborers in the United States amounts to \$226 per annum without board, compared with \$227 to people engaged in domestic service, \$420 paid to miners, and \$445 paid those engaged in the mechanical arts. A statue of Thomas Hughes, author and Christian Socialist, is unveiled by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

June 26.—Troops withdrawn from Pana, Ills.

June 28.—Continued disturbance in Brussels. Conference of Reformers opens at Buffalo.

June 29.—Socialist and Liberal rioting in Brussels over passage of obnoxious franchise arguments in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. Employees in Governor Pingree's shoe factory at Detroit go on a strike, owing to the factory discarding the union label.

June 30.—The Boston & Albany R. R. is leased to the New York Central for 999 years.

June 30.—Dreyfus is brought back to France from Devil's Island.

July 3.—Socialists in Liege and Brussel. protest against Electoral bill.

July 5.—The Michigan supreme court declares law under which Detroit was to buy its street railways, unconstitutional.

July 10.—The U. S. refuses to arbitrate the claims of the Austrian government for damages arising from the death of Austrian subjects in the Hazleton shooting in 1897.

July 15.—Admiral Dewey files his claims for prize money for destroying Spanish ships.

July 16.—Brooklyn street railway strike begins.

July 17.—Cleveland street car strike reopens, owing to bad faith on part of company.

July 18.—Brooklyn strike extends to New York.

July 21.—Troops called out at Cleveland.

July 24.—Trouble at Cleveland grows more serious for the street car people and sympathizers.

July 25.—Messenger boys and newsboys strike at Cincinnati.

July 27.—Two thousand brickmakers strike at Chicago.

July 28.—The Ruskin colony domain of 1,700 acres is sold.

July 31.—The Pennsylvania railway establishes a system of old age pensions for its employees.

Aug. 7.—Second trial of Dreyfus begun at Rennes, France.

Aug. 10.—Edwin Markham's book, "The Man with the Hoe, and other Poems," meets with a big sale. The "Man with the Hoe" does effective propaganda work.

Sept. 4.—Trades union congress opens at Plymouth, England.

Sept. 9.—Dreyfus sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

Sept. 12.—Cornelius Vanderbilt dies, aged 56.

Sept. 13.—Trust conference at Chicago.

Sept. 19.—Dreyfus pardoned by French cabinet.

Sept. 20.—12,000 workmen at Havana strike.

Sept. 25.—Several judges admit paying heavy assessments to political parties, in New York Mazet investigation. Great lakes engineers secure increase of 20 per cent in wages.

Oct. 9.—The German Socialists meet in Berlin and arrange for International Socialist congress to be held in Paris in 1900.

Oct. 12.—War is declared between Great Britain and the Boers.

Oct. 16.—Laurence Gronlund, Socialist author, dies in New York City.

Oct. 17.—Anti-imperial convention in Chicago. Socialists expect to soon control the Belgian government.

Oct. 25.—Grant Allen, scientist, author and Socialist, dies in England.

Oct. 26.—The will of Cornelius Vanderbilt makes Alfred, the second son, the principal heir. He will get about \$50,000,000. The other children get about \$7,500,000 each.

Nov. 9.—Nina VanZandt, of Anarchist trial fame, reported dying.

Nov. 20.—Admiral Dewey transfers the house presented to him to his wife.

Nov. 23.—Domestic rates of postage are extended to Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam.

Nov. 28.—The lower house of the Georgia legislature rejects by an overwhelming vote the bill to disfranchise the negro voter. Harper & Brothers, publishers, fail.

Nov. 30.—A \$1,000,000 steel mill is opened at Birmingham, Ala.

Dec. 1.—Fall River manufacturers consent to a 10 per cent. advance in wages.

Dec. 5.—For the first time in American history Socialism and capitalism stand

face to face at the polls. The municipal election at Haverhill results in the triumphant election of John C. Chase, Social Democrat, over the capitalistic combination of Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists. C. H. Coulter is elected mayor of Brockton, Mass., carrying every ward in the city.

Dec. 9.—John Wanamaker testifies before Industrial Commission.

Dec. 11.—Nineteenth convention of American Federation of Labor meets at Detroit.

Dec. 13.—Moritz E. Ruther, S. L. P., defeated for re-election as alderman at Holyoke, Mass.

Dec. 14.—Five members of United Metal Workers' Association sentenced at Chicago for violating an injunction restraining them with interfering with non-union men.

Dec. 20.—The board of directors of the N. Y. Volkszeitung have passed a vote of censure on the editor of the paper for an editorial criticising the S. T. & L. A. and the policy of maintaining a rival organization to the A. F. of L.

ELECTION STATISTICS.

In 1830 Ezekial Williams, as candidate of the Workingman's party for Governor of New York, received (about) 3,000 votes.

In 1877 the Greenback Labor party, with which the Socialist Labor party was affiliated, polled 1,365 votes in New York. In Cincinnati the labor ticket polled 9,000 votes.

In 1878 the Labor candidate for governor of Ohio got 12,000 votes.

In 1879 four labor candidates were elected to the common council in Chicago. The candidate for mayor received 12,000 votes.

In 1891 Thos. J. Morgan received 2,500 votes for mayor of Chicago.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN U. S. FROM 1890 TO 1897.

California cast 1,611 votes for the Socialist candidate for president in 1896; and 1,726 (local) in 1897.

Colorado cast 160 votes in 1896. In 1896 there were 153 votes cast in an election in Denver, in 1897 it cast 1,444.

Connecticut cast 329 Socialist votes for president in 1892. In 1894 it cast 870. In 1896 it cast 1,223.

Illinois cast 1,147 Socialist votes in 1896.

Indiana cast 524 votes in 1896.

Iowa cast 537 votes in 1894 and 458 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 910.

Kentucky cast no Socialist votes up to and including 1896. In 1897 it cast 68 votes locally in Louisville.

Maine cast 83 votes in a local election (Rockland) in 1895.

Maryland cast 815 votes in 1892, 403 in 1896 and 587 in 1896; 508 in 1897.

Massachusetts cast 1,429 votes in 1891; 676 in 1892; 2,033 in 1893; 3,104 in 1894; 3,249 in 1895; and 2,114 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 6,301.

Michigan cast 358 votes in a local election (Detroit) in 1896 and 297 in the same kind of an election in 1896. In 1897 it cast 2,166.

Minnesota cast 667 in 1896.

Missouri cast 1,661 votes (St. Louis) in 1898; 1,587 in 1894, and 596 in 1896.

Nebraska cast 186 votes in 1896.

New Hampshire cast 228 votes in 1896.

New Jersey cast 472 votes in 1891; 1,838 in 1892; 2,018 in 1893; 5,309 in 1894; 4,147 in 1895; 3,985 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 4,360.

New York cast 13,704 votes in 1890; 14,651 in 1891; 17,956 in 1892; 19,984 in 1893; 15,868 in 1894; 21,497 in 1895; and 17,667 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 20,854.

Ohio cast 470 votes in a local election (Cleveland) in 1894; 1,867 in 1895 and 1,167 in 1896; In 1897 it cast 4,242.

Pennsylvania cast 898 in 1892; 1,733 in 1894; 1,829 in 1895; and 1,688 in 1896. In 1897 it cast 5,048.

Rhode Island cast 592 in 1894; 1,780 in 1895; 568 in 1896; 1,886 in 1897.

Vermont cast 48 votes in 1896.

Virginia cast 108 votes in 1896; 528 in 1897.

Wisconsin cast 1,814 in 1896.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Milwaukee Local Election. Spring, 1898.

For Mayor—Robert Meister	2,440
(S. L. P.—428.)	
For City Treasurer—Edward Tuttle	2,285
For Comptroller—Thos. C. P. Myers	2,329
For City Attorney—Richard Elsner	2,267
The vote by wards for Mayor was as follows: 1st, 85; 2d, 185; 3d, 3; 4th, 80; 5th, 46; 6th, 121; 7th, 89; 8th, 73; 9th, 247; 10th, 215; 11th, 182; 12th, 105; 13th, 143; 14th, 50; 15th, 99; 16th, 18; 17th, 86; 18th, 96; 19th, 282; 20th, 284; 21st, 216.	

Sheboygan, Wis., Spring, 1898.

For Alderman:	
Second Ward—Gust. Bartels	26
Third Ward—Oscar Loebel	27
Fourth Ward—Henry Kohlhausen	128
Fifth Ward—Fred Maack	171
(Elected.)	
Seventh Ward—August Mohr	106
(Elected.)	
Eighth Ward—Chas. Dehling	100

Richmond, Ind., Spring, 1898.

For Mayor	89
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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Wisconsin, Fall, 1898.

1st Manitowoc Assembly Dist.—D. R. Giblin	22
2d Manitowoc Assembly Dist.—Arnold Zander	46
1st Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—David White	51
2d Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—E. Krupp	102
3d Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—Geo. Landwehr	45
4th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—Louis Firnges	80
5th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—John Heymann	81
6th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—Edward Zeigler	98
8th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—And. Longstad	54
9th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—P. Ronneberger	141
11th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—Jas. Sheehan	118
12th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—Emil Seidel	404
15th Milwaukee Assembly Dist.—Jos. Braun	153
15th Senatorial District—Abraham Andrews	74
(Calumet and Manitowoc counties.)	

Wisconsin, Fall, 1898.

For Governor—Howard Tuttle (S. D. P.)	2,544
Henry Reise (S. L. P.)	1,478
Lieutenant Governor—E. P. Hassinger (S. D. P.)	2,535
H. C. Gauger (S. L. P.)	1,548
Secretary of State—Thos. C. P. Myers (S. D. P.)	2,540
E. B. Bartelt (S. L. P.)	1,550
State Treasurer—August Mohr (S. D. P.)	2,501
C. Emmerich (S. L. P.)	1,552
Attorney General—Richard Elsner (S. D. P.)	2,608
J. Anderson (S. L. P.)	1,560
State Superintendent—R. O. Stoll (S. D. P.)	2,538
F. R. Wilke (S. L. P.)	1,566
Railroad Commissioner—Chas. Richter (S. D. P.)	2,554
A. Griefenhagen (S. L. P.)	1,579
Insurance Commissioner—Eugene H. Rooney (S. D. P.)	2,550
R. Koeppl (S. L. P.)	1,564
Fourth Congressional Dist.—Louis A. Arnold (S. D. P.)	993
(S. L. P.)	500
Fifth Congressional Dist.—Geo. J. Eckelman (S. D. P.)	1,088
(S. L. P.)	342

Massachusetts, November, 1898.

For Governor—Winfield P. Porter	8,749
For Lieutenant Governor—T. M. Skinner	5,899
For Secretary of State—C. H. Bradley	9,285
For Treasurer—C. W. White	6,902
For Auditor—C. S. Grievess	6,823

New Hampshire, November, 1898.

For Governor—Sumner F. Clafin	263
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Haverhill, Mass., November, 1898.

For State Senator, Fourth Essex Dist.—J. C. Chase	1,110
For Representative, Third Essex Dist.—L. M. Scates	674
(Elected.)	
For Representative, Fifth Essex Dist.—James F. Carey	751
(Elected.)	
For Congress, Sixth Dist.—A. L. Gillen	846

New York City, November, 1898.

Twelfth Assembly dist.—Jos. Barondess	846
S. L. P.	600.
Eighth Assembly dist.—Louis Miller	128
Fourth Assembly dist.—Meyer London	272

Kansas City, November, 1898.

Vote of S. D. P.	82
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Vigo County (Terre Haute) Ind., November, 1898.

For Sheriff—Henry Stuempfle	260
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Missouri, November, 1898.

For Judge Supreme Court—Albert Sanderson	1,645
S. L. P.	1,056.
For Judge Supreme Court, short term—G. A. Hoehn	1,631
S. L. P.	1,084.
For Supt. Public Schools—Rendell	1,646
For R. R. Commissioner—Stors	1,640

St. Louis Congressional, November, 1898.

10th Dist.—Keefer	229
S. L. P.	121.
11th Dist.—Gebelin	149
S. L. P.	144.
12th Dist.—Tomsen	100
S. L. P.	61.
St. Louis local vote, 710.	

Newburyport, Mass., November, 1898.

For Congress, Sixth Dist.—Gillen	108
Representatives, 22d Essex Dist.—McLean, 117; Souther	121

Springfield, Mass., December, 1898.

For Common Council—S. M. Jones, 176; Eric M. Ericson	99
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Brockton, Mass., December, 1898

For Mayor—C. H. Coulter	626
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Newburyport, Mass., December, 1898.

S. D. P.	301
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Whitman, Mass., March, 1899.

For Town Clerk—D. W. Finn	212
For Selectman—C. E. Lowell	167
For Assessor—A. T. Clancy	254
For Water Commissioner—J. F. Connor	289
For Park Commissioner—B. V. Lothrop	388
For Constable—J. E. Burke	264
For Constable—R. E. McDermott	218

Amesbury, Mass., March, 1899.

For Selectman—John Miller	414
For Selectman—J. H. Maycock	442
For Selectman—Jason Spofford (Elected.)	523
For Overseer of Poor—John Miller	383
For Overseer of Poor—J. H. Maycock	423
For Overseer of Poor—Jason Spofford	482
Assessor for 2 years—Jason Spofford	398
Assessor for 8 years—J. H. Blackstock	472
Board of Health—Dr. J. Q. Adams	511
School Committee—C. S. Wingate	636

St. Louis, April, 1899.

For City Council—Gebelen, 1,049; Sanderson, 1,086; Franz, 1,021; Bechtold, 1,054; Hoehn, 1,017; Tomsen, 1,020.	
For Board of Education—Rendell, 1,292; Meler, 1,307; Putnam, 1,055; Nelson, 1,089.	

Baltimore, Spring, 1899.

For mayor—C. B. Backman	280
President of council—E. Jacobson	280
Comptroller—E. H. Wenzell	291

Pacific, Wis., Spring, 1899.

Chairman—Elected.
 Clerk—Elected.
 Treasurer—Elected.
 Justice—Elected.

Spring Valley, Ills., Spring, 1899.

For Mayor—James Beattie	106
City Clerk—James Barrowman	130
Treasurer—Malcolm Condi	825
Police Magistrate—Henry Watts	89
Inspector—Jos. Malcor	124
Alderman—Henry Morgan	17
Alderman—Wm. H. James	29
Alderman—Joseph J. Novek	66
Alderman—G. M. Schmidt	42

Massachusetts, Fall, 1899.

For Governor—W. P. Porter	8,262
Lieutenant Governor—T. W. Skinner	8,614
Secretary—Chas. H. Bradley	10,281
Treasurer—Chas. W. White	8,648
Auditor—Angus McDonald	10,447
Attorney General—Addison W. Barr	10,847

Fourth Plymouth (Rockland) District, Mass., November, 1899.

For Representative—Frederic O. McCartney	703
(Elected, 102 plu.)	

Essex (Haverhill) District, Mass., November, 1899.

For Representative, 5th dist.—James F. Carey	909
(Elected, 861 maj.)	
Third Representative dist.—Louis M. Scates	814
Fourth Representative dist.—C. S. Woodcock	485
Ninth Representative dist.—A. L. Gillen	580
Fourth Senatorial dist.—Jos. W. Bean	3,526

San Francisco, November, 1899.

For County Clerk—Mark Bartlett	440
Auditor—Emil Liess	321
Supervisors—Max Block, 331; H. Warnke	801

Colorado, November, 1899.

Social Democratic party—no ticket.
 S. L. P. 1,201.

Haverhill, Mass., December, 1899.

For Mayor—John C. Chase	3,589
(Elected—156 maj.)	
S. L. P.	59.
For Alderman—H. M. Crittenden	3,023
For Alderman—G. A. Kelley	3,000
For Alderman—Seth B. Morse	3,144
For Alderman—P. B. Flanders	3,371
(Elected—311 maj.)	
For Alderman—Frank A. Beal	2,854
For Alderman—Louis M. Scates	3,074
(Elected—34 plu.)	
For Alderman—Jos. W. Bean	3,409
(Elected—340 maj.)	

Haverhill, Mass., December, 1898.

For Mayor—John C. Chase	2,293
(Elected.)	
S. L. P.	68.
For Alderman—L. Legacy	1,564
For Alderman—G. A. Kelley	2,146
For Alderman—S. Goldman	1,371
For Alderman—P. B. Flanders	3,392
(Elected.)	
For Alderman—C. A. Frazer	1,700
For Alderman—C. H. Bradley	1,921
(Elected.)	
For Alderman—J. B. Bean	2,568
(Elected.)	
For Councilman—Jos. Bellefeuille	655
(Elected.)	
For Councilman—Jas. W. Hills Grove	555
(Elected.)	
For Councilman—A. L. Gillen	847
(Elected.)	
For School Committee—N. W. Wasson	618
(Elected.)	
For Assistant Assessor—F. S. Reed	641
(Elected.)	

Boston, December, 1899.

For Mayor—John W. Sherman	912
S. L. P.	951
For Alderman—Finestone	158
For Alderman—Ramin	192
S. L. P.	131
For Alderman—McCarthy	421

Worcester, Mass., December, 1899.

For Mayor—Chas. W. Saunders	184
Alderman—Addison W. Barr	806
Alderman—T. M. Carpenter	418
Alderman—Howard A. Gibbs	276

Chelsea, Mass., December, 1899.

For Mayor—Charles R. Green	269
Alderman—Gimpel	397
Alderman—Miller	486
Alderman—Polack	351
Alderman—Casey	831
Alderman—Hondust	488
Alderman—Taft	517

Quincy, Mass., December, 1899.

For Mayor—G. B. Bates	298
Councilmen—A. W. Russell, 450; P. M. Carlson, 117; W. M. Packard, 141; G. K. Carter, 188; D. Desmond, Jr., 151; T. J. Halvoss, 248; H. B. Johnson, 110.	

Rockville, Conn., December, 1899.

For Mayor—Wm. P. Lonergan	240
Clerk—McVeigh	229
Treasurer—Spielman	228
Sheriff—Quinlan	229
Assessor—Gunderman	221
Assessor—Orcutt	229
Assessor—Kellner	229

Alderman—Pike, 13; Theuer, 68.

Councilmen—Smith, 86; Spelman, 63; Schlaf, 114.

Lynn, Mass., December, 1899.

For Mayor—Ernest W. Timson	457
S. L. P.	330.

For Aldermen—Gidney, 529; Hitchcock, 454; Jackson, 506; Jones, 556; Kilks, 479; Lee, 530; Miles, 482; Nofal, 297; Stone, 565.

Newburyport, Mass., December, 1899.

For Mayor—Chas. W. Johnson	744
For Alderman—S. H. Noyes	248
For Alderman—George W. Hussey	192

(Elected.)

For Alderman—E. C. Lang	818
For Alderman—A. L. Binley	802
For Councilman—L. A. Thibault	51
For Councilman—D. F. Souther	156
For Councilman—E. F. McLean	88
For Councilman—C. E. Preble	48
For Councilman—T. H. Chishell	84
For Councilman—F. W. Dorr	132
For School Board—Mrs. Elizabeth G. Porter	

(Elected.)

Brocton, Mass., December, 1899.

For Mayor—C. H. Coulter	8,894
(Elected—1,546 plu.)	

For Alderman—W. P. Bosworth	335
For Alderman—Chas. B. Malpas	258
For Alderman—G. C. Brown	317
For Alderman—Benjamin Thatcher	286
For Alderman—Samuel L. Beal	651

(Elected.)

For Alderman—W. T. West	178
For Alderman—Edw. T. Spear	258
For Alderman—Edward D. Perry	850

(Elected.)

For Alderman—George H. Sprague	244
For Councilman—David S. Brothers	825

(Elected.)

For School Board—French, 1,838; Harrington, 1,809; Norling, 1,567.
To pension firemen, 1,218 maj.

Maryland, December, 1899.

For Governor—Jones	432
Comptroller—Fowler	458
Attorney General—Backman	496

Port Angeles, Wash., December, 1899.

For Mayor—David O'Brien	50
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Fairhaven, Wash., December, 1899.

For Mayor—John Cloak	141
Lacking but 26 votes of election.	

Ohio, Fall, 1899.

Social Democratic party—no ticket.

S. L. P. 6015.

Fall, 1899.

S. L. P., Kentucky	615
S. L. P., Maryland	420
S. L. P., Iowa	795
S. L. P., Massachusetts	10,778

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

National Executive Board—Jesse Cox, chairman, Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Frederic Heath.

National Headquarters—Room 56, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ills. Theodore Debs, national secretary-treasurer.

Official Journal—"Social Democratic Herald," A. S. Edwards, editor, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ills. Price, 50 cents per year.

AMERICAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

"Social Democratic Herald," weekly. Room 56, 126 Washington St., Chicago. Price 50 cents a year.

"Appeal to Reason," weekly. J. A. Wayland, editor, Girard, Kansas. Price, 50 cents per year.

"Haverhill Social Democrat," weekly. Wm. Mailly, editor, Haverhill, Mass. Price, 50 cents per year.

"Social Democrat," weekly. 614 State St., Milwaukee. Price, 50 cents per year.

"Coming Nation," weekly. Rusk n colony, Duke, Georgia. Price 50 cents per year.

"Vorwaerts," weekly, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State St., Milwaukee. Price \$2.00 per year.

"Die Wahrheit," weekly, 8 pages (German). Victor L. Berger, editor, 614 State St., Milwaukee. Price \$2.00 per year.

"Volks-Anwalt," Weekly (German). Gustav A. Hoehn, 22 N. Fourth St., Room 7, St. Louis. Price \$1.50 per year.

"Gross—New Yorker Arbeiter Zeitung," weekly (German). 69 Gold St., New York City. Price \$1.50 per year.

"Brockton Journal," weekly. John T. Doyle, editor, Brockton, Mass. Price \$1.00 per year.

"New Light," weekly. E. E. Vall, editor, Port Angeles, Wash. Price 50 cents per year.

"The Farmers' Review," weekly. W. E. Farmer, editor, Bonham, Texas. Per year, 50 cents.

"Sheboygan Volksblatt," weekly (German). Oscar Loebel, editor, Sheboygan, Wis. Per year, \$1.50.

ONE HUNDRED WELL KNOWN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

A.

James Allman, 408 Plaine st., Newark, N. J.

Leonard D. Abbott, 886 W. 71st street, New York City.

Louis A. Arnold, 550 Reed st., Milwaukee, Wis.

P. P. Ayer, 230 Fifth ave., Chicago.

Arthur R. Andre, 1159 Mission st., San Francisco, Cal.

B.

Victor L. Berger, 614 State st., Milwaukee, Wis.

Jno. A. Bruell, Pana, Ill.

Mrs. Corinne Brown, 6264 Woodlawn ave., Chicago, Ill.

Joseph Baroness, 6 Rutgers st., New York City.

James Beatty, Spring Valley, Ill.

Addison W. Barr, Worcester, Mass.

Chas. B. Backman, 1406 Gough st., Baltimore, Md.

Charles H. Bradley, Haverhill, Mass.

Joseph W. Bean, Haverhill, Mass.

William Butscher, 251 Rutledge st., New York City.

W. P. Bosworth, Brockton, Mass.

Rev. S. L. Beal, Brockton, Mass.

J. M. Brice, 10 W. Main st., Battle Creek, Mich.

F. Braun, 381 Marvin ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Chas. H. Bechthold, 705 Delta ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Wm Bohn, 244 Addison st., Pittsburg, Pa.

C. A. Blodgett, 727 27th st., Milwaukee.

C.

A. B. Cornelius, 474 Chapel st., New Haven, Conn.
 James F. Carey, Haverhill, Mass.
 Jesse Cox, 108 LaSalle st., Chicago.
 Sumner F. Claffin, Manchester, N. H.
 J. Chapman, New Whatcom, Wash.
 John C. Chase, Mayor's office, Haverhill, Mass.
 Chas. H. Coulter, Mayor's office, Brockton, Mass.
 A. B. Cornelius, 474 Chapel st., New Haven, Conn.

D.

Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.
 Theodore Debs, 126 Washington st., Chicago
 John Doerfler, 701 Winnebago st., Milwaukee.
 Eugene Dietzgen, (in Europe), 1807 Barry ave., Chicago.
 Wm. T. Dwyer, Haverhill, Mass.

E.

Richard Elsner, 140 North ave., Milwaukee.
 Edward Evinger, Terre Haute, Ind.
 A. S. Edwards, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ills
 Dr. B. H. Enloe, Nashville, Tenn.

F.

Imogene C. Fales, Bensonhurst, New York.
 W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.
 Albert E. Forman, 141 1st ave., Milwaukee.
 Charles Fraser, Haverhill, Mass.
 Parkman B. Flanders, Haverhill, Mass.
 J. F. Fox, 71 N. Park st., Butte, Mont.
 J. L. Franz, 1314 Walnut st., Cincinnati, Ohio.

G.

F. G. R. Gordon, 614 State st., Milwaukee.
 Paul Grottkau (died Milwaukee, June 4, 1898).
 Thos. H. Gibbs, 1740 Welton St., Denver.
 C. S. Grieves, 9 Market st., Amesbury, Mass.
 Dr. J. H. Greer, 62 Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
 Frederick Gesswein, Red Lake Falls, Minn.

H.

Frank Hlavacek, 1267 Sawyer st., Chicago, Ills.
 G. A. Hoehn, 22 North Fourth st., Room 7, St. Louis.
 Jacob Hunger, 1117 Chestnut st., Milwaukee.
 Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood ave., Roxbury, Mass.
 Eugene Hough, West Newton, Mass.
 George Howie, Manchester, N. H.
 C. W. Hewitt, Cotton Mill bldg., Evansville, Ind.
 Henry J. Hartwig, 925 W. Franklin st., Evansville, Ind.
 W. L. Hamilton, 323 Russell st., Nashville, Tenn.
 Frederic Heath, 182 Mason st., Milwaukee.

J.

Levin T. Jones, Baltimore.
 Mary G. Jones, "Mother Jones," Girard, Kan.
 Morris Jolles, 71 Poplar st., Boston.

K.

Sylvester Kellher, care "Indianapolis Press," Indianapolis, Ind.
 Thomas Kerwin, 2504 Wentworth ave., Chicago.
 George Koop, 510 Claremont ave., Chicago.
 Mr. A. Konikow, 1048 Washington st., Boston.

L.

Emil Liess, San Francisco.
 Isador Ladoff, 878 Astor st., Milwaukee.
 H. S. Geneva Lake, Olympia, Wash.
 Mary E. Lease
 Oscar Loebel, Sheboygan, Wis.
 J. H. Lewis, 2318 Jane st., Pittsburg, Pa.

M.

Frederic O. McCartney, Rockland, Mass.
 William Mailley, Haverhill, Mass.
 Louis E. Miller, New York.
 Hugo Miller, Indianapolis.
 C. F. Meier, 3004 Indiana ave., St. Louis.
 George Moersch, 778 Twenty-fifth st., Milwaukee.
 Chas. R. Martin, Tiffin, Ohio.
 August Mohr, Sheboygan, Wis.
 Thos. C. P. Myers, Gen. Delivery, Milwaukee.
 Robert Meister, 924 Mound st., Milwaukee.
 C. H. Mellen, Somersworth, N. H.
 Angus McDonald, 104 W. Springfield st., Boston.
 Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank st., New Haven.
 Wm. Mahoney, 40 S. Second st., Nashville, Tenn.

O.

James O'Neal, Terre Haute, Ind.
 J. T. Oldham, 614 Spring st., Seattle, Wash.

P.

I. Phillips, New York.
 Carl Pankof, 171 Griffith st., Jersey City, N. J.
 Winfield P. Porter, Newburyport, Mass.
 Squire E. Putney, Belmont Court, Somerville, Mass.
 E. Val Putnam, R. 7, No. 23 N. Fourth st., St. Louis.
 Al. Pierson, Jacksonville, Ill.
 Mrs. W. P. Porter, Newburyport, Mass.

R.

Eugene H. Rooney, Bartlett st., Milwaukee.
 Gustav Richter, 781 24¹/₂ st., Milwaukee.
 Joseph H. Roesch, Bridgeport, Conn.
 Dr. J. W. Ruminier, Evansville, Ind.

S.

Seymour Stedman, 94 LaSalle st., Chicago.
 Anna Ferry Smith, San Diego, Cal.
 Albert Sanderson, 4225 N. Newstead ave., St. Louis.
 R. O. Stoll, Eau Claire, Wis.
 P. Schaffer, 1089 Main st., Hartford, Conn.
 Jason Spofford, Amesbury, Mass.
 Nicholas Schwin, Eighth st., Milwaukee.
 Isaac W. Skinner, Brockton, Mass.
 Louis M. Scates, Haverhill, Mass.
 Jno. W. Sherman, 48 Temple st., Boston, Mass.
 Frederick G. Strickland, Chicago.
 Geo. H. Strobell, 44 Hill st., Newark, N. J.

T.

Elizabeth H. Thomas, 257 Division st., New York City.
 Howard Tuttle, Lisbon ave., Milwaukee.
 John F. Tobin, Boston, Mass.
 Ernest W. Timson, 23 Albany st., Lynn, Mass.
 Wm. A. Toole, 361 Getting st., Baltimore, Md.

V.

Jos. T. Van Rensselaer, 1618 Toberman st., Los Angeles, Cal.

W.

Jacob Winnen, 860 Blue Island ave., Chicago.
 M. Winchevsky, 144 E 52nd st., New York City.
 Chas. W. White, Winchester, Mass.
 J. C. Wibel, St. Louis.
 Frank S. Walsh, 332 W. Elm st., Brockton, Mass.

Z.

Edward Ziegler, 778 Booth st., Milwaukee.
 Julius Zorn, 1814 Walnut st., Cincinnati, Ohio.

PLATFORM OF THE OLD SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA.

(Adopted Chicago, June 21, 1897.)

We hold that all men are born free, and are endowed with certain natural rights, among which are life, liberty and happiness. In the light of experience we find that while all citizens are equal in theory they are not so in fact. While all citizens have the same rights politically, this political equality is useless under the present system of economic inequality, which is essentially destructive of life, liberty and happiness. In spite of political equality labor is robbed of the wealth it produces. By the development of this system it is denied the means of self-employment, and by enforced idleness through lack of employment, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics can be plainly traced the existence of a class that corrupts the government, alienates public property, public franchises and public functions, and holds this, the mightiest of nations, in abject dependence.

Labor, manual and mental, being the creator of all wealth and all civilization, it rightfully follows that those who perform all labor and create all wealth should enjoy the fruit of their efforts. But this is rendered impossible by the modern system of production. Since the discovery and application of steam and electric powers and the general introduction of machinery in all branches of industry, the industrial operations are carried on by such gigantic means that but few are now able to possess them, and thus the producer is separated from his products.

While in former times the individual worker labored on his own account, with his own tools, and was the master of his products, now dozens, hundreds and thousands of men work together in shops, mines, factories, etc., co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor, but they are not the masters of their products. The fruits of this co-operative labor are, in a great measure, appropriated by the owners of the means of production, to-wit by the owners of machines, mines, land and the means of transportation.

This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class, necessarily leaves but two classes in our country; the large class of workers and the small class of great employers and capitalists.

Human power and natural forces are wasted by this system which makes "profit" the only object in business.

Ignorance and misery, with all concomitant evils, are perpetuated by this system, which makes human labor a ware to be bought in the open market, and places no real value on human life.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purposes and made instruments for the enslavement of men and the starvation of women and children.

We, therefore, hold that in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other, will anni-

hilate the middle class, the basis upon which this system rests, and thereby work out its own downfall.

We therefore call upon all honest citizens to unite under the banner of the Social Democracy of America, so that we may be ready to conquer capitalism by making use of our political liberty and by taking possession of the public power, so that we may put an end to the present barbarous struggle, by the abolition of capitalism, the restoration of the land, and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution, to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth, which, although it will not make every man equal physically or mentally, will give to every worker the free exercise and the full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization and ultimately inaugurate the universal brotherhood of man. The Social Democracy of America will make democracy “the rule of the people,” a truth, by ending the economic subjugation of the overwhelming great majority of the people.

With a view to the immediate relief of the people, all our efforts shall be put forth to secure to the unemployed self-supporting employment, using all proper ways and means to that end. For such purpose one of the states of the Union, to be hereafter determined, shall be selected for the concentration of our supporters and the introduction of co-operative industry, and then gradually extending the sphere of our operations until the National Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

We also make the following specific

DEMANDS FOR RELIEF:

1. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
2. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
3. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.
4. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
5. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
6. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
7. The establishment of Postal Savings Banks.
8. The adoption of the Initiative and the Referendum, the Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

(Adopted at Chicago June, 1898, and amended by referendum vote August, 1899.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free for all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

NOTE.—The Demands for Farmers, which was dropped by referendum, will be found in the article headed "Socialist Controversies of 1899."

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